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# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

*Industrial Workers of the World*



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*Wobs Commence Huge Letter-Writing Campaign*

## Joe Hill's Ashes to be Reclaimed

Responding to a report which appeared in last month's issue, Wobblies and *Industrial Worker* subscribers around the world have deluged UAW *Solidarity's* editorial offices with letters insisting that only the IWW may claim the right to distribute a sample of Joe Hill's ashes, recently discovered among Bureau of Investigation files housed at the National Archives, in Washington D.C..

As reported in *Industrial Worker* last month, a small envelope containing what must certainly be the only remaining sample of Joe Hill's ashes was recently discovered at the National Archives among yellowing Bureau of Investigation documents. The documents indicate that the envelope containing the ashes was seized in 1917 by Chicago Postal authori-

ties while *en route* to a man named Charles Gepford, a Chicagoan, presumably for the purpose of carrying out the Wobbly martyr's last wish, that his ashes be scattered to the wind. The seized envelope was forwarded to the Bureau of Investigation (forerunner of the FBI) and remained lost until its recent discovery, reported in UAW's *Solidarity* magazine. *Solidarity* urged its members and subscribers to write letters offering suggestions as to what might be done with the ashes. The IWW had not been contacted.

GEB Chairperson Fred Lee and GST Paul Poulos commenced making enquiries, as letters from *Industrial Worker* readers began pouring into *Solidarity's* offices. Dave Elsila, *Solidarity's* editor, has insisted that it was not his or *Solidarity's* intention to assume trusteeship of the envelope.

In response to the concerted efforts of the General Administration and the many Wobs who sent letters to *Solidarity*, Elsila last month pledged to do whatever he could to assist the IWW in its attempt to reclaim the envelope from the National Archive files. In addition, *Solidarity* has promised to publish as many IWW letters as space permits. In late June, Chuck Fogel—author of the original *Solidarity* article—contacted Clarence Lyons (a legal officer at the National Archives) and has reported to Chicago that there appears to be nothing barring the IWW from gaining possession of the ashes. GEB Chair Fred Lee will meet with National Archive officials in Washington at 1:30 pm on July 14th. Meanwhile, GST Paul Poulos (who will be in Canada in July to meet with the Toronto IWW Branch) has instructed Chicago to send a formal letter thanking *Solidarity's* editors for their efforts on the IWW's behalf, and for their responsiveness toward the many *Industrial Worker* readers who sent letters of protest to *Solidarity* last month.

My will is easy to decide,  
For there is nothing to divide.  
My kin don't need to fuss and moan—  
"Moss does not cling to rolling stone."

My body?—Oh!—If I could choose,  
I would to ashes it reduce,  
And let the merry breezes blow  
My dust to where some flowers grow.

Perhaps some fading flower then  
Would come to life and bloom again.  
This is my last and final will.  
Good luck to all of you,

JOE HILL

### Co-op Workers File NLRB Complaint

*See page 4*



Photo Courtesy Bradbury/Charles Kerr Co.

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*Another P-9 In the Making?*

## Shipbuilders' Local Union Fights For Survival

Recent news reports trumpeting increased employment and alleged economic prosperity only serve to disguise the reality of devastated communities and permanent reductions in living standards for millions of workingclass families as a result of the restructuring of the American economy. Blue-collar workers, who believed that they had achieved middle class status by virtue of their union-won, relatively higher wages, now find themselves slaving away at so-called high-tech jobs for substantially lower pay. Others, workers in their 40s and 50s, have found it next to impossible to find any kind of decent employment because of employers' reluctance to "invest" in these "older" workers. For those "fortunate" enough to still be working in industrial hell-holes the price has been reduced wages, lower fringe benefits, deteriorating health and safety protection, longer hours—in short, greater exploitation.

The response of the trade unions to this situation has been inadequate to say the least. Despite the militant-sounding rhetoric of late, regarding resistance to concessions and the need for solidarity, the so-called unions have, since the UAW helped to bail-out Chrysler in 1979, rolled-over for their masters, never missing a beat in touting cooperation between labor and management in the sacred cause of restoring the American economy to competitiveness in the world market. We've all seen what this "cooperation" has meant for the rank-and-file of labor.

Some workers, however, have never fully bought into the "cooperative" spirit. They know that everything the working class has achieved has been gained through struggle. Rather than "cooperate" in their own destruction they opted to fight concessions. In doing so they not only threw down the gauntlet to the employers but also challenged the dominant ethos of the labor movement. In response their "International" and "National" unions worked to isolate their struggles, paving the way for defeat and demoralization.

Readers of the *Industrial Worker* should be familiar with the case of the Hormel strike and the struggle of Local P-9 against concessions and the sabotage of their fight by the UFCW. Less well known, perhaps, is the on-going battle of Local 61 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (IUMSWA). Based in Pittsburgh, once considered the epitome of the industrial city, now hyped as a high-tech mecca, where double digit unemployment still dogs thousands of workingclass families in outlying communities, Local 61 struck the Dravo Corporation in 1985 to resist take-back demands amounting to over 38% reductions in wages and fringe benefits. The strike was a long and bitter one, punctuated by the use of direct action against Dravo and the Mellon Bank (a major stockholder in the company). When Dravo decided to temporarily shut down early in 1986, Local 61's parent union cut off strike relief leaving Local 61's members in the lurch.

Infuriated by this betrayal, the Local decided to challenge the bureaucratic leadership of the National Union at its 1986 Convention by running Local 61's President, Darrell Becker, for National President. In response, the National Union clamped a Trusteeship on Local 61 and attempted to have Becker expelled on trumped-up charges. At the Convention itself the National leadership stole the election by rigging the delegations in its favor through the use of staffers representing ghost locals. Local 61, supported by other IUMSWA locals—notably Local 6 (the largest, with 5700 members at the Bath Iron Works in Maine) and Local 9 (Los Angeles), filed a complaint with the Department of Labor (DOL) alleging violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act. The DOL investigation led to the filing of two lawsuits in Federal Court charging

the National Union and its President, Arthur Batson, with rigging the election and illegally placing Local 61 under trusteeship.

Local 61 also took measures to prevent the National from gaining control of the Local. One of these measures was to rescind authorization for the employers to deduct union dues from workers' paychecks. This revocation of the dues check-off allowed the Local's officers to collect dues and assessments directly from the membership, making it possible for the Local to continue to function and deny the funds to the Trustee.

Another important action taken was to file with the NLRB to re-certify the Local as exclusive bargaining agent, thus removing the National Union from the collective bargaining process. The Local succeeded in ousting the

*(continued on page 3)*

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# EDITORIAL

Unionism remains a dangerous business in most of the world. In Columbia, for example, a gang of armed men believed to be connected with the military abducted union activist Jose Amin on Feb. 24th of this year—his whereabouts are still unknown. Victor Velasquez, a Honduran union official, was arrested by security forces earlier this year. When union attorneys demanded his release, authorities claimed he had already been freed. In fact, however, he has not been seen since his arrest.

Dozens of union activists have been arrested—and some killed—in the last year by Sandinista authorities in Nicaragua, who are currently attempting to crush strikes by construction workers and mechanics. Twelve South Korean unionists were recently sentenced to prison for periods ranging from two to seven years on charges of “belonging to an anti-imperialist workers’ group.” The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions insists they were only trying to organize unions in Inchon and Puzon, two industrial cities east of Seoul.

In Turkey, 300 officials of the union confederation DISK are appealing prison sentences handed down two years ago. The DISK has been banned, and the government has seized its assets and the assets of its affiliates. In Malaysia, the Secretary General of the Malaysian Trade Union Congress (V. David) is under a two-year detention order for “endangering public tranquility,” along with 32 other union and political activists.

Hundreds of South African unionists—including activists and officials of both the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Congress of the Trade Unions—remain in prison, and unions recently mounted a 3-day general strike protesting proposed legislation which would even further restrict unions’ legal rights.

Chilean National Workers’ Command is threatening a general strike over the sacking of more than 100 unionists for participating in a strike called to protest plans to privatize Chile’s railway system. The government also suspended 17 union leaders (just where the government gets the right to remove union officials from office is unclear). Even before the recent strike wave in Poland, half of that country’s political prisoners were trade union activists—and the government is resorting to trumped up criminal charges to disguise the real nature of their repression. Jan Andrzej Gorny, president of the Slask Dabrowski Regional Executive Commission of NSZZ Solidarnosc, for example, was sentenced earlier this year to eighteen months in prison for using forged papers and failing to pay alimony to his former wife though she denies the truth of the alimony charge.

Similar instances could be cited from almost every country in the world, including the U.S. where UMW members were recently sentenced to jail on trumped-up murder charges stemming from a picket-line incident. Our rulers—whether they claim to exercise power in the interests of the working class or openly carry out their role of aiding the rich and powerful in their looting operations—have repeatedly demonstrated their utter contempt for such basic workers’ rights as the right to organize, to strike, and to fight for better conditions and a better world.

Even the right to live is denied—every year hundreds of U.S. workers are killed on the job, and thousands more die from job-caused illnesses. No one has calculated the death toll for the rest of the world, but it almost certainly rivals the numbers slaughtered in the dozens of wars currently being fought by wage slaves at their masters’ behest.

Meanwhile, the business unionists moan about unfair competition from our low-paid fellow workers abroad, even as they support the foreign “aid” programs that help suppress these fellow workers’ efforts to organize and to better their condition and even as they support the economic system that pits us against each other, and places so little value on our lives.

We can’t afford the rich any more. The burden of supporting them has become too onerous, and the carnage they unleash upon the rest of us has long been intolerable. Electing politicians to free us just won’t do the job—politicians of both left and right have shown no hesitation at throwing rebellious workers in jail, where they don’t simply shoot us outright. We’re going to have to organize, and do the job right—ourselves, at the point of production, where our power lies.

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## Correspondence

Friends:

I recently had the good fortune to take a long railroad trip which included a one-hour stopover in Denver. As I was out hurriedly running around I ran into two of your members and picked up a paper. I appreciated it greatly—the best \$.25 I’ve spent in a long time.

Enclosed find \$4.00 for a subscription. Also find an extra \$2.00 for as many “silent agitator” stickers as you can send for that. I work here in L.A. as a courier and am in and out of offices & businesses all day long. Silent agitation is the only type of disturbance these people will allow, so they’ll get it. And how!

Yours in discontent,

Netai Basu  
Los Angeles, CA

Dear IW Collective:

I am delighted with the new format of the paper but more encouraging is the quality of the articles and the obvious change in philosophy. It is so refreshing to see us displaying our affinity with other action-oriented groups that are our natural allies. Unlike the AFL-CIA, we are not strictly a bread & butter labor organization. We want to change this society completely—every damn brick.

For once, we have a paper I am proud to sell, an organizing tool which gives the general impression that we are an active organization, not merely a historical society whose main purpose is criticizing anyone who does something.

It is also very encouraging to see so many extra papers being printed and distributed. We are beginning to behave like we really want *One Big Union*.

My hat off to all of you. I know it is damn hard work! You have my support in your attempt to improve the paper and I can tell you from the response we are getting from others, that most everyone agrees.

In Solidarity,  
Gary Cox  
Johnstown, CO

PS: Next time you do a piece on the unemployed/homeless, remember Emma Goldman’s advice: “Demand work. If they do not give you work, demand bread. It is your sacred right.”

Carlos, glad to hear you gave up the weed. R.J. Reynolds is betting you can’t stay off. He grins at us. I’m betting on you. We need you.

Dear IW,

I was quite inspired by the May issue of the *Industrial Worker* featuring “radical environmentalism.” I am writing from a city reputed to have some of the worst air, in a country not noted for its air quality, the German Democratic Republic (GDR). A Scottish friend who spent half a year here wrote me recently from France: “Remember, just don’t breathe the air or drink the water and you should be fine.” He was only half-joking.

I live in a suburb of Leipzig, the GDR’s second-largest city. It is half an hour by tram or bicycle to the city center where I work. Weather permitting, I usually opt for the bicycle, dodging cars and trams as I bounce along over the cobblestone. The air gets progressively worse as I approach the city center. When a vehicle issues a particularly nasty blast of exhaust in my face, I do in fact hold my breath for a few seconds until the worst has passed. When there’s no wind, this city sits under the gray pall of the regional chemical industry. On such days I wonder if I should be pedalling at all. Better perhaps to sit inside a streetcar and breathe, well, carefully.

I teach English to University students in Leipzig. Mainly I have conversation classes: my task is to get the students to speak. I often have the best luck with provocative texts on issues that everyone has a strong opinion about. Recently I had them read a proposal for an auto-free W. Berlin put forth by the *Alternative List* (basically the W. German counterpart of the Green Party). The plan (a few years old) was to drastically improve and reduce the cost of public transportation and to phase out all use of private cars within the city, over a ten year period. The initiative is interesting in its own right; more generally I was anxious to give “green politics” a hearing among GDR students.

The students all took one of three positions on the proposal. Most judged it to be a good idea, but unrealistic. A few argued that it was good and realistic as well. Only a very few considered it both bad and unrealistic. Can green grow in GDR? In a country where you must wait over ten years to buy a car, the status of that dubious symbol of the “good life” dies quite hard. But do car drivers actually get around faster? Is it worth the price our lungs must pay? Is one car (or more) per household a desirable social goal? Is it possible on a worldwide basis? My questions met varied responses, but when I posed the more concrete question of an auto-free Leipzig, most were on my

side. No one could deny that this would make a cleaner, quieter, more liveable city.

In one class the discussion of this auto-free Leipzig proposal became quite lively. I asked the students how such a proposal could be presented for public debate here and was told it would have to go to City Hall. I then asked for help in formally drawing up and presenting the proposal: “An Auto-Free Leipzig by the Year 2000.” Unrealistic? Is Gorbachov unrealistic in proposing a nuclear-free world in the same period of time? By comparison, the Leipzig resolution is very modest indeed. Who would go with me to City Hall? The students all smiled at my joke, but I was only half-joking.

William Murray  
Leipzig



Dear Fellow Workers,

Congratulations on an extra-good June issue, one I’ll be proud to pass out. I’m glad to note the correspondence page is back. Good work!

Special kudos on the front-page coverage of the Union of the Homeless. L.A.’s experience with homeless unions has been unfortunate. First, there was the Homeless Organizing Team (HOT). Captured by the Communists. Then came the Union of the Homeless. Same deal. A sham meeting was held for the purpose of electing organizers. All persons presented for election were people from the *Peoples World*, official Communist journal in these parts. All white but one exception, and definitely not homeless themselves. Election was rushed through in good old commie fashion. No other nominations were permitted. I couldn’t stomach these shenanigans. Haven’t seen anything of them in the press, so I judge they haven’t been stirring up any revolutions. (May I add, these *Peoples World* folks had jumped the trigger and appointed themselves organizers before the sham election took place. They were simply confirmed in their usurpation.)

Dorice McDaniels  
Lawndale, CA



## Rochelle Semel Receives Honors

Over 100 prominent east coast labor activists—including several Wobs—joined together on Saturday, June 11th at New York’s Cornell University to pay tribute to IW member Rochelle Semel, who retires this summer after twenty years as a staff person and faculty member at the university.

A devoted labor activist and longtime Wobbly, Rochelle hired on at Cornell as a clerical worker, and after receiving her degree joined the faculty of the Labor Studies department, where she conducted classes in public speaking and labor journalism.

She developed Cornell’s Trade Union Women’s Studies program and for several years—together with Paul Poulos—has conducted summer labor camps in upstate New York for shop floor activists and organizers. Participants in these summer camps have gone on to establish similar camps in other states

and they are presently being conducted all over the U.S.. Rochelle now plans to devote all her time to the task of elaborating new programs and workshops for camp coordinators.

The June 11th event, held under the auspices of the Women’s Committee of the Public Employees’ Federation, was attended by several members of the New York IWW Branch, including General Secretary-Treasurer Paul Poulos and GDC Secretary Jackie Panish.

The Women’s Committee has established a yearly award for unionists who have made important contributions and—in tribute to Rochelle’s several years of work for the Public Employee’s Federation—they have named it the “Rochelle Semel Mentor Award.” In addition, the Women’s Committee has named Rochelle the recipient of the first annual award.

Congratulations, Fellow Worker!



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# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

ONE UNION ONE ENEMY



Editors:

Carlos Cortez, Fred Lee, Brian Myers,  
Joan Myers, Dave Wells, Joel Williams,  
Penny Pixler

General Secretary-Treasurer:

Paul Poulos

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## World Labor News Update

### Census Reports on Working Mothers

The Census Bureau reported recently that in 1987, more than half of all new mothers in the U.S. remained in the job market, marking the first time a majority of women reported they were working or actively seeking employment within a year of giving birth.

The figure was 31 percent in 1976, when the Census Bureau first calculated the statistic.

The study, entitled "Fertility of American Women: June 1987" found that 63 percent of new mothers with college degrees remained in the workforce, as against 38 percent of those whose education ended at high school. Some 51 percent of white, and 53 percent of black new mothers returned to work within a year of giving birth, while 36 percent of hispanic new mothers sought jobs within the year.



### Labor Insurgency in South Korea

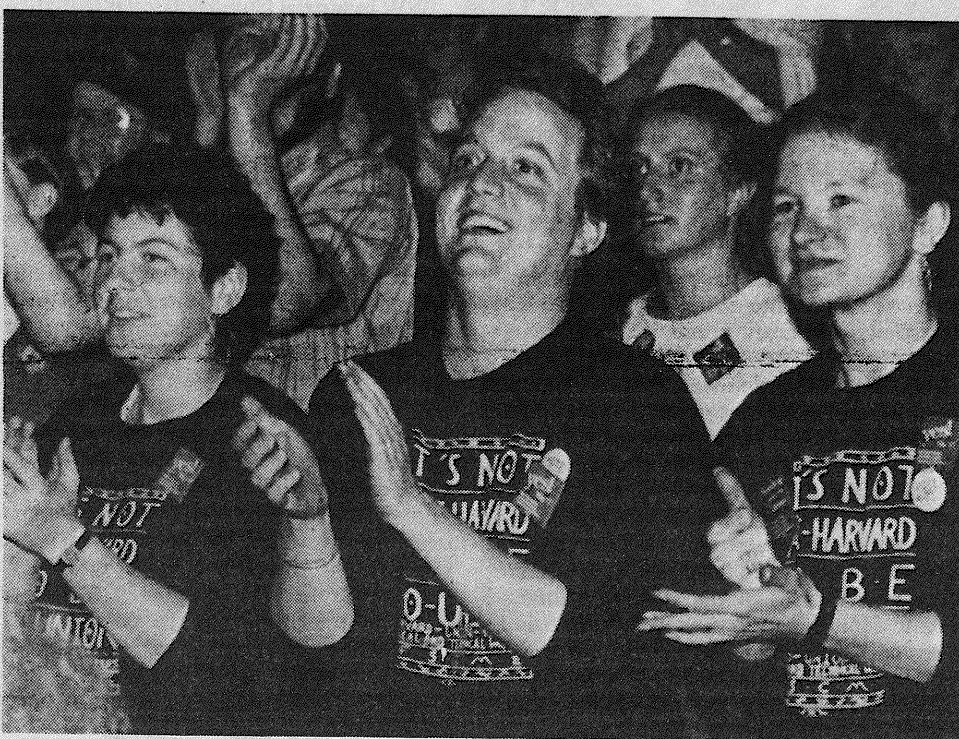
A second wave of labor uprisings has swept through South Korea as workers who exploded in protest last summer now try to expand upon the rights they have won.

As of June 2, workers were on strike against 91 companies, bringing the number of strikes which have occurred in South Korea this year to a total of 860. This year's strikes—perhaps due to the special training sessions held by AFL-CIO officials—have focused more specifically on wages than in previous years.

At the Hyundai Precision and Industry Company, a subsidiary of the Hyundai Corporation, where tanks and other military equipment are produced, 2000 striking workers occupied the company's offices and held the chairperson and 10 other executives hostage until demands were met for an 18 percent pay raise.

Workers at two major concerns, Tongil Company (an auto parts manufacturer) and Samsung Shipbuilding Company (the country's third largest shipbuilder) won 26.5 percent wage hikes in late June after a forty-day walkout.

South Korea has one of the world's longest work weeks, at 57 hours. Workers want large raises so that they can afford to turn down overtime and demand reduced working hours.



Most of the strikers are working for flat across-the-board pay increases in an effort to bring up the wages of the lowest paid workers.



### Union Victory at Harvard University

In late May, clerical and technical workers at Harvard University voted 1,530 to 1,486 to form a local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). About 89 percent of the eligible workers voted, according to the National Labor Relations Board.

The organizers announced that they would begin the process of electing a negotiating team and developing contract proposals, and expect to start contract talks by late summer.

### San Francisco Workers Strike

During the last week in May janitors in Local 87 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) began a strike that left San Francisco's financial District strewn with uncollected trash. Picket lines were set up at many buildings, honored by Teamsters who halted freight deliveries and and pick-ups at the affected sites.

The union is seeking a fifty-cent hourly wage increase for each year of a proposed three-year contract, and is attempting to block management's plans to establish a two-tier wage system.

There were three injuries and at least ten arrests during the course of the week-long strike.

On May 30, members of Local 265 of the Cemetery Workers and Greens Attendants Union struck 17 cemeteries in the San Francisco area, in protest of the cemetery owner's use of non-union subcontractors to do work ordinarily handled by full-time workers.

### German Coal Mine Disaster

On June 1st an explosion in a coal shaft near Borken, West Germany killed 51 miners. Six of the fifty-seven miners underground were found alive in an air pocket in the collapsed mine shaft.

Fourteen of the miners killed were said to be Turkish citizens, part of West Germany's sizable force of "guest workers." The huge blast seriously injured eight miners on the surface and blew debris far into the surrounding fields.

The disaster at the Borken Mine was the worst in West Germany since 1962, when 299 miners were killed. More than 1000 miners have lost their lives in West German mining accidents since 1949.



### COSATU Stages 3-Day Strike

More than a million black South African workers joined a three day strike called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and another labor federation, the 400,000 member National Congress of Trade Unions. The strike, which commenced June 6, was called in protest against a government crackdown earlier this year against 17 anti-apartheid groups.

The protest strike, held in defiance of a two-year-old nationwide state of emergency, was strongest in the commercial/industrial complex of Johannesburg—where public transportation was brought to a virtual halt—and the Indian Ocean port of Durban, where seven major assembly plants were forced to shut down.

The gold mines, where employers took the toughest stand against the strike, were relatively unaffected; the giant Anglo American Corporation reported that its gold mines were operating normally. But at several coal pits as many as 85 percent of the miners joined in the strike.

The police warned the country's press that it was an offense to publicize or report on the extent to which the strike was successful, threatening newspapers that covered the strike with prosecution. The government reported that 10 people had been killed, and 21 arrested during the course of the three day protests.

## How Committed Are You?

In order to keep the subscription price of the *Industrial Worker* affordable for working people, the IWW established an *Industrial Worker* Sustaining Fund. The sustaining fund is intended to supplement the monthly production and distribution costs of the *Industrial Worker* so that these ever-increasing costs are not dependent upon subscription income. (Subscription income—even in this period of growth—does not even begin to cover the cost of *IW*'s monthly mailing expense).

And so, the *Industrial Worker*'s quality—indeed, its ability to survive—ultimately depends upon the generosity of its readers and subscribers, through their voluntary contributions to the sustaining fund.

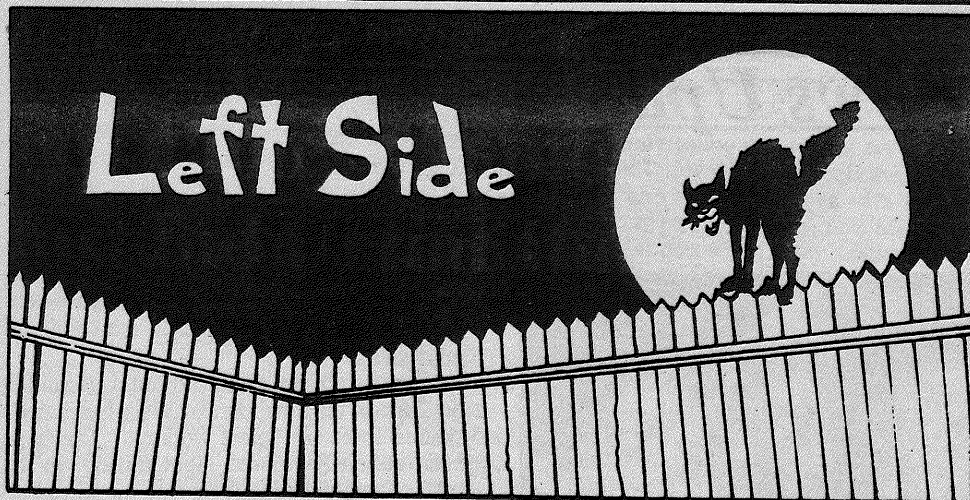
Last January, increased paper production costs resulted in an approximate 10 percent increase in our monthly printing costs. In April, a postal rate increase virtually doubled the amount spent each month on distribution, a truly disastrous blow.

The response of the *Industrial Worker* staff has been to tighten our belts, and, to whatever extent possible, improve the quality of the paper, as well as to solicit special donations from IWW members and subscribers to facilitate a wide sample distribution of the paper, in the hope that an increase in the number of our subscribers might help defray the substantial increase in our costs. We have commenced producing the paper almost entirely in-house (with volunteer labor), and have succeeded in significantly reducing production expenses, making it possible to produce a larger, more attractive *Industrial Worker* at relatively no more cost than last year's eight-page paper. We remain positively convinced that the world is ready for radical labor, and that the *Industrial Worker* can and will be the vehicle through which increasing numbers of rebel workers swell the ranks of the IWW.

In short, we are firmly committed to the real potential of a resurgent IWW. How committed are you?







When Friedrich Engels gave a description of the modern city and how it was built (so that armed insurrection on the part of the people was a virtual impossibility) he concluded his remarks by saying, "Now you see why they want to get us out where the cannons roar and the sabres rattle?" One has to wonder why the state of Israel chose to expel from the country, of all people, the one individual who advocated non-violent resistance to Israeli occupation, and whether the state of Israel is really interested in peace. One would think that the state of Israel, being concerned for the welfare of its citizens, should be more tolerantly disposed to someone who advocated non-violent resistance.

It may also be quite possible that the state of Israel remembers the philosopher George Santayana's observation that those who ignore history are condemned to repeat it, in light of the overwhelming likelihood that the rulers of Great Britain regret that they had not strangled Mohandas Kamarchand Ghandi when he was a baby.

It was another philosopher, Pyotr Kropotkin, who said that war is the health of the state and it behooves us not to forget that simple but eloquent little truth. One could conjecture the sinister possibilities of permitting an advocate of non-violent resistance to remain in the country. If this advocate's ideas caught on and became popular among his fellow Palestinians, who knows what might be the disastrous consequences? The burden of fear would at least be removed from the ordinary Israeli who might no longer be afraid to walk the streets, unarmed.

- Like good mensche, they might even engage their Palestinian neighbors in heated discussion, and eventually both Israeli and Palestinian might come to the conclusion that as much as they need a hole in the head, they should need politicians, Israeli or Arab. Before the gentle reader starts accusing yours truly of being a turn-the-other-cheek pacifist, he should ask himself why the state of Israel is kicking out this nice young Arab man who doesn't want to hurt Jews. Is it because they never want to see Arabs and Jews together?

They obviously prefer to have the common people out where the cannons roar and the sabres rattle. Make no mistake. War is indeed the health of the state!

And speaking of history, there are those who are not too concerned over the lack of historical accuracy on the part of the teeming multitudes, judging by a recent survey taken among college students here in Freedomland. Despite the fact that dinosaurs disappeared from the face of the earth over sixty million years before the first rudimentary humans made their appearance, there are college students who believe that cavemen battled with dinosaurs and that fossils are the remains of those animals who didn't make it into Noah's Ark. In some parts of the country over half of the college students believe this. According to this survey, depending on the region of Freedomland, between 38 to 53 percent of college students believe in the Biblical account that human life began in the Garden of Eden.

Many of these students believe that evolution is directed by God on high rather than being a process of natural selection and mutation. The Creationist lobbies have been work-

ing hard for some time to water down any discussion of evolution in textbooks, if not in successfully eliminating the subject altogether.

Most interesting is the fact that forty-five percent of these students agree that some races are "more evolved" than others, which can strike a discouraging note to the aspirations of civil libertarians.

Freedomland is indeed the land of opportunity where an uneducated slob has the opportunity of becoming an educated slob, endowed with the technological and administrative smarts to control his "uneducated" brethren.

Because Stanford University had updated its required freshman course on Western Culture to include the contributions of minorities and women, the Secretary of Education, William J. Bennett, became very upset. He accused the University of "being intimidated" by radical groups and of abandoning one of an American University's most important functions, that of being the bearer and transmitter of "Western" values and knowledge.

The contribution of minorities and women, contrary to what yo-yos like Bennett might think, is by no means a recent innovation. The reason for the ascendancy of what he fondly refers to as "Western" culture has been the influences from other parts of the world. Would he still prefer to be doing his multiplication or long division with Roman numerals? Would he be willing to forgo such goodies as tea, chocolate, rice, potatoes, squash, and many other everyday things that are taken for granted? Perhaps nobody ever told him the formative years of an individual's life are spent in the company of women where one's first attitudes and philosophy germinate.

With Education Secretaries like Bennett, it is no surprise that the Creationists are having such an influence on the educational system. Did anyone ever tell these yo-yos that the Bible was written by a non-"Western" people?

All of you out there whose paychecks have been getting smaller—those of you who are still getting paychecks—either through inflation or through a roll-back union contract, take comfort that such is not the case with everyone. Rest assured that there are those who have not sunk to our depths. The chairman of the Lotus Corporation was paid \$26.3 million in 1987. Waste Management's (a classic example of the misuse of language) top banana was paid \$14.3 million. Lee Iacocca got \$17.9 million. At least 288 outfits paid their head puss-butts over a million dollars.

Let it be known that the money you haven't been receiving of late is by no means unappreciated.

In fact it is so much appreciated that we Stateside working-stiffs continue to be rewarded with the best educational system on the Globe. It is no accident that college students believe that their ancestors frolicked with dinosaurs and that some people are more evolved than others, while there are those that are paid in excess of a million dollars for sitting behind an empty desk. As long as there are enough of us with fat between our ears, there shall be those with fat between themselves and their desk chairs.

Study a little history, Fellow Workers, so you won't have to endure the continual agony of repeating it.

C. C. Redcloud

Submitted by Harry Siitonen

## Mr. Block

### He Writes a Letter to the Editor

Mr. Block, the quintessential scissorbill, is alive and well in San Francisco! The following polemic appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" column of the *San Francisco Progress* last month:

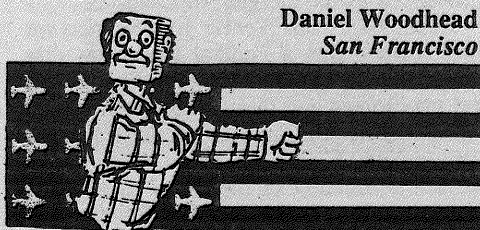
Editor:

In addition to its economic benefits, homeporting the historic battleship Missouri is important for other reasons: One, to remind us of the past and why an ever-vigilant military force is needed to preserve our freedom: Two, to give our youth, jaded by a crass hedonistic adult society, a wholesome, inspirational

understanding of why being a patriotic American is a good thing.

For many of the same important reasons, economic and non-economic, San Francisco needs both the Missouri and major league baseball.

Daniel Woodhead  
San Francisco



## Madison's Williamson St. Co-op Workers Solicit Community Support

IWW Industrial Union 660 last month filed unfair labor practice charges against the Community Management Group (CMG), a nationwide management "cooperative" which contracts to provide staffing for Madison, Wisconsin's Williamson Street Grocery Co-op.

On March 26th, a petition signed by 15 non-management workers requesting union representation was presented to CMG. CMG expressed willingness to bargain with the union, and asked for an outline of topics to be discussed during negotiations. A time-table for contract talks was discussed, and CMG agreed to establish its bargaining team.

At a May 10th meeting, Mark Plane and Julia Goode (the IWW delegates representing the co-op workers) pressed CMG for written

Co-op has begun to suffer the encroaching imposition of the traditional top-down management structure, with all the consequent evils of hierarchical management that accompany it. On May 1, 1987, management imposed a \$2 per hour pay cut on all non-management workers hired after that date, reducing starting wages from \$6 to \$4 per hour. Job specialization was introduced and has now become institutionalized, resulting in alienation and misunderstanding among workers (these conditions foster tensions and lead to competition among workers, leaving them vulnerable to the selective favoritism and the unlawful threats and intimidation exhibited by the bosses).

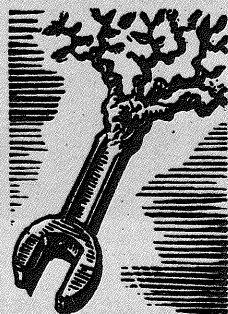
As a result of management's anti-labor activities, the union lost the poll by a narrow margin, 13-10. CMG has since reneged on its legal obligation (and its prior verbal agreement) to negotiate with the union, and is currently attempting to form a "company" union in its place.

I.U. 660 has filed a formal NLRB complaint charging Williamson Street Co-op with violating its workers' rights under federal law to join and belong to a union, with reneging on its agreement to enter into collective bargaining, with engaging in the use of unlawful threats and intimidation toward employees, and with attempting to establish an illegal "company union."

The Madison IWW Branch has commenced planning a solidarity campaign on behalf of the "Willy" St. Co-op workers. The fight is still in its initial stage. Community support is being solicited, and Lakeside Press (I.U. 450) has provided a supply of informational leaflets to the co-op workers and to Branch members. Press coverage of the dispute is forthcoming, and the union has been approached by the producers of a local cable program who are eager to tape a special segment on the co-op workers' fight.

Calling all Wobs! Send letters to the General Manager and to the Board of Directors (c/o Williamson Street Grocery Co-op, 1202 Williamson Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703) to express your concern over their illegal and manipulative attempts to destroy this union. Also, send your messages of support and solidarity to the co-op, care of FW's Mark Plane or Julia Goode.

Let's let our Fellow Workers in Madison know that they have One Big Union behind them!



recognition of the union. They were subsequently told by management that two staff members had questioned the union's right to negotiate on their behalf. CMG requested an informal (non-NLRB) certification election. Confident of the determination and solidarity of the co-op workers, the union agreed to submit to the poll.

Immediately the co-op management began a disinformation campaign with the intention of discrediting unionism generally and the IWW in particular. Workers were told that the union "would hurt the co-op financially" and that unionization would only "result in a hostile work environment." Unions and union people were characterized as destructive and corrupt.

Finally, employees were selectively invited to private meetings with the store manager and were asked to support him in opposing the union.

Unfortunately, like many other worker-run collectives over the years the Williamson St.

## REBEL VOICES: AN IWW ANTHOLOGY

by Joyce Kornbluh



Joyce Kornbluh's fond research has brought back to fervent, fiery life the crusading days of the IWW... Not even the doughtiest of capitalism's defenders can read these pages without understanding how much of glory and nobility there was in the IWW story and how much of shame for the nation that treated the Wobblies so shabbily...

-Abe Raskin, N.Y. Times Book Review

\$18.95

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Rick Reinhard

# Solidarity Unionism

by Staughton Lynd

The labor movement is based on solidarity. More than any other group in society, workers experience the need to act together in order to survive.

A college teacher or a lawyer is likely to experience victory or defeat as a personal matter. Victories are felt to be personal coups. If a big case is lost, or one fails to get tenure, it is believed to be due to some personal act or omission. Similarly, the wins and losses of others are perceived as their private business.

Workers, on the other hand, are forced to recognize that the power of the employer is much greater than that of any single employee acting alone. The Horatio Alger myth that individual punctuality and application can overcome all obstacles does not correspond with the powerlessness experienced in a mine disaster, or a plant shutdown. It follows that the only realistic way to try to deal with such common problems is to act together.

The words "an injury to one is an injury to all," express this understanding. Above all, this recognition is expressed in the *action* of ordinary rank-and-file workers, when they walk off the job in support of each other, or in other ways take risks for the good of all.

I want to pause at this point and give some examples, both of solidarity and its absence. For unless we come to an solid understanding about what we mean by "solidarity," not as a slogan but as an experienced reality, the rest of this article will not make much sense.

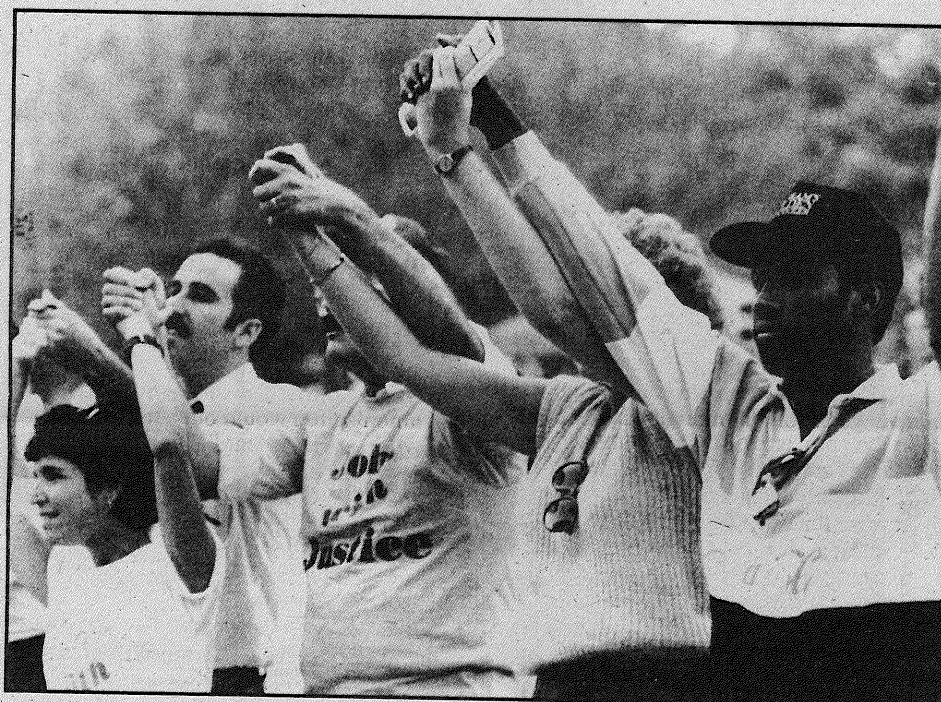
## What is Solidarity?

Consider the beginning of Polish Solidarity. When Anna Walentynowicz was fired from her job as a crane operator in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, in August 1980, her workmates struck, demanding her reinstatement. Other shipyards struck in sympathy. In two days the workers at the Lenin yard had won their demands. Walentynowicz and Lech Walesa were reinstated, and the Polish government promised to build a monument honoring workers killed in the strike of 1970.

The question was posed whether the Lenin yard strikers should stay out on behalf of the demands of other shipyards. As Walentynowicz tells the story: "Alina Pienkowska and I went running back to the hall to declare a solidarity strike, but the microphones were off. The shipyard loudspeakers were announcing that the strike was over and that everyone had to leave by six P.M. The gates were open, and people were leaving.

"So Alina and I went running to the main gate. And I began to appeal to them to declare a solidarity strike, because the only reason that the manager had met our demands was that the other factories were still on strike. I said that if the workers at these other factories were defeated, we wouldn't be safe either. But somebody challenged me. 'On whose authority are you declaring this a strike? I'm tired and I want to go home.' I too was tired, and I started to cry. . .

"Now, Alina is very small, a tiny person, but full of initiative. She stood up on a barrel and began to appeal to those who were leaving.



*The unions we need now must be prepared to scrap the bureaucratic structures that have ossified during the era of business unionism. . . They must be fighting unions that depend on the raw power of workers' solidarity, on common action from below. This is what "Solidarity Unionism" is all about.*



'We have to help the others with their strikes, because they have helped us. We have to defend them.' Somebody from the crowd said, 'She's right!' The gate was closed."

The strike that gave birth to Polish Solidarity followed.

At the moment of crisis, Anna Walentynowicz took the position that only if the Lenin workers continued their strike on behalf of the workers at the other shipyards would the Lenin workers be "safe." Clearly she was saying that workers, to preserve their rights, need above all to preserve their solidarity.

Another example of solidarity comes from Guatemala. In February 1984, the owners of its Coca-Cola plant announced that the enterprise was a failure and shut down. According to historian Jack Spence: "The workers immediately occupied the premises. The owners then offered about six months' severance pay. The workers demanded that the money be used to keep the factory in operation."

The owners soon thereafter left the country. The workers addressed their demands to Coca-Cola International. "As days stretched into payless weeks, and weeks into months, about one hundred workers had to drop out. Of the remainder, eighty were organized into work teams to find work to support the families of all. The rest divided into two teams, each occupying the factory for 24 hour shifts."

It took more than a year to find a new owner, and to reopen the plant. But the new owner agreed to hire only 265 of the workers putting the remaining eighty-five on a first-hire waiting list, with no requirement that anyone be hired. Spence inquired if the 85 who did not go back to work were the workers with least seniority. No, he was told. "85 volunteers stepped forward to place themselves on the waiting list. They had been out of work almost a year."

A last example of solidarity, showing that North American workers can do it just as well as anyone, is the inspiring story of clerical and technical workers at Yale University.<sup>3</sup> In organizing a union, in negotiating for a first contract, Local 34 and its organizers wrote a textbook on solidarity unionism. The union rejected the use of literature for the first year of its drive, and made no efforts to get members to sign union cards for over a year and a half. Instead its organizers, mostly rank-and-file workers, endlessly talked with individuals and small groups.

All committees were open to any member; the Organizing Committee came to have 450 members. Not only did Local 34 pledge not to collect any initiation fees or dues until a first contract had been secured, it also promised that the members would set their own dues.

The most dramatic expression of solidarity at Yale came from the blue-collar service and maintenance workers in Local 35. They had been organized for years, and clerical workers had regularly crossed their picket lines. Yet when the clerical workers struck for a contract, the members of Local 35 stayed out.

"The administration sent a personal letter to each member of Local 35 threatening disciplinary action against those who failed to come to work. . . On the evening of October 2,

(continued on next page)



Staughton Lynd

# Solidarity Unionism

(continued from previous page)

five hundred members of Local 35 gathered at the Methodist Church and marched to President Giamatti's house where each deposited in a box... a small blue card reading 'I'm out. I have a right to be out. I'm staying out. Yale should settle or arbitrate'."

By contrast, a flagrant example of the absence or destruction of solidarity is the two-tier wage system. The customary wage structure is bad enough. By shift differentials, production incentives, and percentage increases that most benefit those who already have more, it divides workers one from the other by a myriad of small (and not so small) differences in compensation. To compound these differences by freezing or "red-circling" the wages of incumbents, while paying new hires less, is to create a situation in which older, experienced workers and younger, often more militant workers, lack incentive to make common cause.

Another recent phenomenon with solidarity-destroying side effects is worker ownership of single firms. The idea of worker ownership is likely to arise when a particular enterprise is faced with shutdown, as at the Rath Packing, South Bend Lathe, Hyatt Clark, and Seymour Speciality Wire plants, or at the Weirton and Youngstown steel mills. Experience suggests that such efforts, if they succeed, succeed by creating an "enterprise solidarity" among workers and managers of a single firm. Typically, the worker-owned firm finds itself competing for survival with the workers in other firms of the same industry. Often these other workers belong to the same union. The enterprise solidarity of the single worker-owned firm comes into conflict with the solidarity of all workers in the industry.

Thus at Weirton, the president of the local union commented before the buyout there: "If there is going to be one steel company alive in this country, we intend it to be Weirton." Worker ownership of a single firm can avoid weakening working-class solidarity only if the workers at the firm refuse to work at wages lower than the industry-wide rates negotiated by their national union.

Thus "solidarity unionism" or a unionism that puts "solidarity first" would seek to build the community of workers, in the belief that the workers' power depends on their ability to act together. Solidarity unionism would try to create such community (among workers, but not with management) at the individual plant, but it would approach the problems of the plant in a manner calculated to strengthen the solidarity of workers throughout the nation, and indeed, throughout the world.

But we should ask next, is this just a nice idea, or is it really needed to help workers deal with the current crisis of the labor movement?

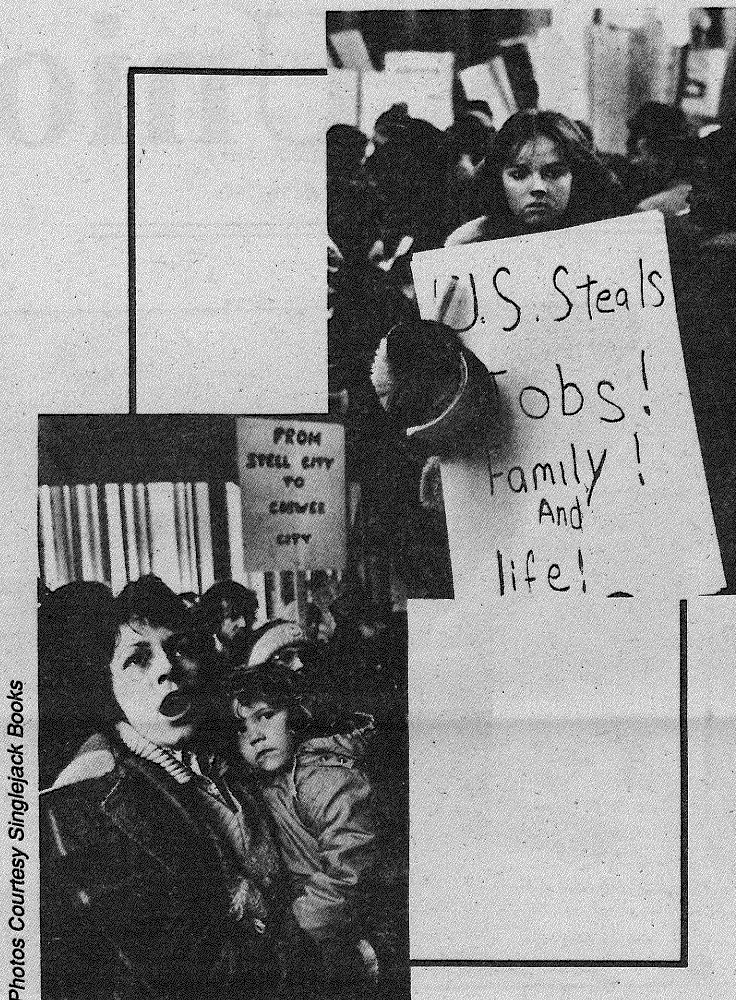
## What is the Crisis of the Labor Movement?

I suggest that the current crisis of the labor movement is not just a matter of external factors: hard times, concessionary contracts, or runaway capital. The crisis of the labor movement is also internal. The spirit of solidarity has grown weaker.

Understandably, in a period of American history when everyone is urged to look out first for Number One, working people find it difficult to act in the belief that an injury to one is an injury to all. Bureaucratic union structures and full-time staff representatives who have forgotten whence they came don't help. One has only to recall the PATCO strike, when the trade union movement failed to come to the aid of one embattled segment, to recognize that something within the labor movement—something (if I may use the word) spiritual—has gone wrong. I don't know how many trade unionists have said to Alice Lynd and myself about the PATCO strike, "If only we had stood up then, we wouldn't be in the mess we're in now."

I believe that workers, in and out of unions, consciously need to build a movement based on solidarity. Solidarity will not develop without being nurtured. It needs to be thought about and planned for. Collective bargaining demands should be directed to helping workers become a community, rather than setting one against the other. If the law makes it hard to

*The Horatio Alger Myth that individual punctuality and application can overcome all obstacles does not correspond with the powerlessness experienced in a mine disaster, or a plant shutdown. It follows that the only realistic way to deal with such common problems is to act together.*



Photos Courtesy Singlejack Books

practice solidarity, then we need lawyers who will help workers circumvent these obstacles. Customary practices—the dues check-off, contractual no-strike and management rights language—need to be reconsidered in response to the question, Does this practice build or weaken worker solidarity?

Such solidarity unionism, inspired by and permeated with the spirit of solidarity, should be distinguished from a merely tactical use of solidarity.

For example, the recent AFL-CIO pamphlet *The Inside Game*, although subtitled "Winning With Workplace Strategies," presents a tactical rather than a strategic or principled argument for solidarity.

The booklet begins promisingly. In situations where a strike would be ineffective, it suggests, "staying on the job and working from the inside may be more appropriate and effective." What does this mean? *The Inside Game* explains:

"Increasingly, unions are finding they must actually go back in time to find ways to cope with the refusal of employers to bargain in a fair and equitable manner.

"Back to a time when there was no National Labor Relations Act, no public employee collective bargaining laws.

"Back to a time when the only rule was that there were no rules and workers had only their numbers, their solidarity and their aggressive collective actions to protect their jobs and pry contracts from employers." *The Inside Game* goes on to say that one of the names unions have given to these techniques is simply, "building solidarity."

Case studies at the end of *The Inside Game* include provocative specific ideas such as:

1. When the contract runs out, go on working and ask members to pay union dues voluntarily;
2. "Work to rule" by refusing to work outside job descriptions or to work overtime;

3. Sit-downs in such large numbers that the employer will hesitate to fire or arrest all those involved;

4. Holding regular meetings on the shop floor as well as at the union hall;

5. Setting up a voluntary "Solidarity Fund" to assist fellow workers fired or disciplined;

6. Mass presentations of grievances, by workers who leave their work stations and go to management offices to complain;

7. Expanding the number of stewards to include more people holding key jobs in the plant;

8. Boycotting company Christmas parties, banquets and dinners;

9. Taking over in-plant meetings called by the company;

10. "[S]inging solidarity songs in the employee cafeteria just below the executive offices."

These are indeed the sorts of actions used by rank-and-file workers to build CIO unions in the 1930s. But do the authors of *The Inside Game* intend that this building solidarity style of action become a way of life? Do they, for example, seek to institutionalize the abolition of the dues check-off, or direct action on the shop floor, or a shop steward for every foreman? Not on your life! The object of solidarity tactics is said by *The Inside Game* to be convincing the employer "that a decent contract is in management's own self-interest": that is, convincing the employer that conventional bargaining, in which the employer can deal with full-time representatives who in turn act as policemen of their own rank-and-file, is preferable to rank-and-file mass action.

This is exactly what John L. Lewis did fifty years ago, when the CIO was organized. He used the radical direct action of the sit-down at Flint, Michigan in January-February 1937 to frighten Myron Taylor of U.S. Steel into recognizing the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in March 1937. Once the CIO unions had been recognized as responsible bargaining partners with whom management could negotiate "a decent contract... in management's own self-interest," Lewis got rid of the radicals who built the CIO.

The critical analytical error of *The Inside Game*, as in the general thinking of established unions about their current crisis, is the assumption that labor and management have the same or mutually consistent interests. The dominant organizations in the American labor movement for the past century have made this assumption. It is the assumption that underlies business unionism, because it induces trade unions to leave investment decisions to management while directing their own attention to wages, hours, and working conditions, and to surrender the right to strike (for the duration of collective bargaining agreements), in the belief that workers no longer need the strike to protect their day-to-day interests.

The assumption of converging management and labor interests, and the business union bargaining based on that assumption, worked well enough for the thirty years after the end of World War II. But the epidemic of plant closings, capital flight, and disinvestment that began about 1975 and has continued unabated since, proves that this assumption is no longer true. Management is interested in profit maximization, and will sacrifice any labor interests to that objective. The assumption of shared interests mystifies reality: organized labor, like a faithful servant with a false sense of ownership and security, speaks of "my job," "my plant," and "my company," until the day the company abruptly shuts down the plant and demonstrates who really owns the jobs, the plant, and the company.

To put it differently, many persons in the labor movement have entertained a two-agenda strategy. "Today," it is said, "we will enhance wages, hours, and working conditions, in exchange for letting the company run the plant. Someday, however, our agenda will be to put investment decisions into the hands of the workers themselves."

The two-agenda strategy is now bankrupt. Today there is no way to adequately protect wages, hours, and working conditions, without seeking a voice in decisions about investment. A five-cents an hour wage increase, or even the right to shut down unsafe work, doesn't mean very much when the company retains and utilizes its unilateral authority to shut down the whole plant. The labor move-





Staughton Lynd

# Solidarity Unionism

*I believe that workers consciously need to build a movement based on solidarity. Solidarity will not develop without being nurtured. It needs to be thought about and planned for.*

ment's primary objective must be to fight for the right to help determine who should own the plants, where they should be located, what products or services should be created, and how capital should be used. Workers know that if money made at a plant is not reinvested in maintenance and new machinery, down the line that plant may be forced to close. But they have never had the power to compel such reinvestment.

The unions we need now must be fighting unions, flexible in their choice of forms and strategies. They must be unions prepared to scrap the bureaucratic structures that have ossified during the era of business unionism; to resist management rights and no-strike clauses in contracts; to give up the dues check-off, and to collect dues by hand on the shop floor. They must be unions that depend on the raw power of workers' solidarity, on common action from below. This is what "solidarity unionism" is all about.

## Seeds of Solidarity Youngstown and Nicaragua

Every community has its own treasured moments of workingclass solidarity. A good way to begin to discuss the subject of this article would be to ask: When have you experienced solidarity? What is the time when you most experienced solidarity? How about the absence of solidarity? In recounting a few such moments from the Youngstown-Aliquippa-Pittsburgh area in recent years, I do not mean to exaggerate their importance. Such "seeds beneath the snow" exist everywhere. The following are mentioned merely as examples.

In Youngstown, three big mills were shut down in three successive years. The final closing announcement came in November 1979. In January 1980, in what one worker described as "Youngstown's last stand," Ed Mann, local union president at one of the shut-down mills, addressed a packed mass meeting at the hall of Local 1330, USWA. After quoting black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, Mann said: "I'm going down that hill." When he finished, the crowd surged out the doors and down the hill, smashed the glass door of the of the administration building, and set up occupation headquarters in a hitherto-unsuspected executive game room discovered on the third floor. Among those taking part in the occupation was the president of the local AFL-CIO. The occupation lasted only one afternoon. The president of the local union, worried about workers losing benefits if they were arrested and discharged, called off the occupation in exchange for a promise by U.S. Steel to talk. Today the consensus among Youngstown activists, including the local union president, is that "we should have stayed there forever."

During the fall of 1981 I conducted a class at the hall of a small local of the Utility Workers Union. At the end of the class, we decided we wanted to form an organization and continue to meet together. Our purpose, as we defined it then, was to provide prompt assistance to groups of workers on strike. We adopted the name Workers Solidarity Club.

Since then the Workers Solidarity Club has met regularly on the second Wednesday of each month. We have no officers. We do not take votes. If someone has a project in mind, that person says: "I'm going to do so-and-so. I need some help. Anyone who wants to help, meet me at..."

This little group of rank-and-file workers and retirees from various companies in the area has had a big influence in some situations. In the fall of 1982, the AFSCME local at a nearby hospital went on strike. Scabs went through the picket line in large numbers and it looked as if the strike would be lost and the union smashed. Members of the Workers Solidarity Club put out a leaflet calling for rallies in support of the strike on Wednesday afternoons at the main hospital entrance. An injunction limited the number of pickets. We rallied anyway. A first attempt to enjoin us for contempt was defeated by arguing that rally participants did not have notice of the injunction. By this time, the rallies had grown so large that the police soon stopped trying to enforce the injunction; instead they blocked off the street so we could meet. One Saturday in October, the entire labor movement of the valley turned out for a "Solidarity Day" march to the hospital from the downtown area of the

community. That march filled the main street of the town from curb to curb. Spectators and friendly policemen crowded the sidewalks. In the end, the union was saved, and has since become much stronger.

In 1987, a large automobile plant—the first big company to move to the area in the ten years since the mills began to close—opened for business. Its top executives announced that if their workers formed a union they would close and relocate the plant. UAW spokespersons stated it would not try to organize for at least six months so as to give the new company "a chance." The Workers Solidarity Club filed

an unfair labor practice charge, claiming the executives were making unlawful threats that chilled the plant's workers in the exercise of their legal right to organize. As a result, the company has been compelled to post a notice promising not to make threats, and the UAW has declared its intent to organize.

Another solidarity group sprang up when the LTV Corporation and its subsidiary LTV Steel declared bankruptcy in July 1986. At the same time that it filed for bankruptcy, the company stopped paying health insurance benefits to an estimated 78,000 retirees. One man in Youngstown, Roy St. Clair, decided

not to go to the hospital for chest pains because he did not know how he would pay for treatment. He died a few hours later. Another LTV retiree, John Lipka, committed suicide in February 1987 because of what his wife described as his fear of what the future might bring.

Delores Hrycyk, wife of an LTV retiree, called local radio talk shows and announced a rally in downtown Youngstown. More than a thousand people came. The group—entirely without input from anyone in Workers Solidarity—adopted the name Solidarity USA. Since then, hundreds of retirees have travelled to New York City (where the Bankruptcy Court is located), Washington, DC, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Aliquippa, to plead their cause. Other LTV retiree groups, such as Retirees Against Greed and Exploitation (RAGE), in Canton, Ohio, have appeared. All of this activity has been financed by voluntary community donations, without a single paid officer or staff person.

Alice Lynd and I also assisted in the creation of a tiny union of visiting nurses. When it came time to pass out authorization cards, we told the nurses they would need a name. "Would you like to be the Visiting Nurse Employees Association?" we asked. One of the nurses responded rather timidly, "Do we have to have that name?" No, we said, they could call themselves anything they wanted. "Well," she went on, "we have been calling ourselves the solidarity group. Could we be Visiting Nurses Solidarity?" And that's what they were called when the nurses voted in an NLRB election and unanimously chose to be represented by VNS. (Registered Nurses and Licensed Practical Nurses also voted unanimously to belong to the same bargaining unit.)

These examples suggest an organizing perspective different from that of unionists who form a rank-and-file caucus to run candidates in the next union election. The problem with running candidates in a union election, as with all electoral activity, is that all the candidates can do is to promise what they "would" do if elected. In solidarity unionism, on the other hand, rank and filers can begin to act out the kind of unionism they would like to see practiced. In our experience this has sometimes been enough to cause the incumbent officers of existing unions begin to act in a new way.

Solidarity unionism encourages workers to rely on their own collective activism, rather than on officers, old or new. Alice Lynd, as a union member, recalls a business agent addressing a union meeting and saying "All we want you to do is to pay your dues, and come to meetings, and leave everything else to us." This encourages union members to depend on representatives to do things for them. It fosters a "handout mentality," rather than the spirit of "If you want it to happen, you've got to get in there and make it happen."

A final kind of experience important for emerging solidarity unionism in Youngstown has been contact with Nicaragua. Workers in Nicaragua have their own problems, of course. But they have been helpful to us in acting out certain kinds of solidarity action that previously we have only read about in history books.

At El Ceracol, a medium-sized plant in Managua that makes cereal, the executive committee of the union told us about their history. Before Somoza was overthrown they were unable to form a union. After the 1979 election, they organized a union but the plant continued in private hands. Then came a time when the plant's private owners laid off more than fifty workers because of a shortage of raw materials. The union disagreed with the decision, but by the time it protested the workers were gone. Then, so we were told, they occupied the plant; refused admission to the private owners; but kept production going. In the course of the occupation, papers were discovered showing that the owners were siphoning off capital rather than reinvesting in the plant. The workers then asked the government to take the plant into public ownership, and appoint an administrator. Several months later the government agreed.

We heard a similar story at La Perfecta, another Managua factory where milk is processed. What was impressive to a North American listener was the matter-of-fact way the workers described the plant occupations. For

(continued on next page)



Photos Courtesy Singlejack Books



Czechoslovakia's "Charter 77" group meeting in a Prague apartment.



## Staughton Lynd



Mexico's independent garment workers' union "19th of September"

(continued from previous page)

them, it was a part of the story like any other. To me, it seemed the breaking of a kind of thought barrier that has confined workers and unions in the United States for the past fifty years.

### Solidarity In Practice

The idea of solidarity unionism has barely begun to be rediscovered or invented. The practice and application of the idea is in the earliest stages. It would be presumptuous to say with confidence what it will mean. Only the creativity and experience of thousands of ordinary people, as they move to the task, will make this clear. For the moment I merely raise some questions as to what solidarity unionism might mean.

1. *Solidarity Unionism in Collective Bargaining.* What can we put into our contracts that will help workers become a community, rather than setting one against the other? Visiting Nurses Solidarity, the small independent union mentioned earlier, has demanded: (a) Wage increases in the form of cents per hour that help the lowest-paid the most, rather than percentage increases that widen the gap between the best and worst paid workers; (b) Rotation of layoffs among all union members as opposed to a mechanical application of seniority that wholly deprives of employment the workers with least seniority, who may be heads of single-parent families.

2. *Solidarity Unionism on the Picket Line.* The most elementary lesson of growing up in a trade union family is, we don't cross picket lines. But if you try to act in that way you're likely to get fired. The most serious damage to workers' solidarity in the United States during the past fifty years has resulted not from the Hart-Taftley Act, or the Cold War witchhunt, but from the no-strike clauses to which unions have voluntarily agreed. Can't we ask of our unions that they refuse to agree to such language? Then workers would be free to strike, and other workers would be free to respect their picket lines.

3. *Solidarity With Workers in Other Countries.* When plants close in Youngstown, Aliquippa, and Pittsburgh, we are told that this is the fault of other workers, in other countries, who take away Americans' jobs. One can't deny that workers in other countries who are paid much lower wages than workers in North America may be offered work that used to be done in this country. Is this the fault of those foreign workers? What can be done to help them raise their wages?

4. *Solidarity Within the Union.* How can we prevent full-time union representatives from kicking away the ladder on which they climbed to power, and living in a separate world? One idea, still practiced by a few unions, is that the union representative should be paid no more than the highest-paid member on the shop floor. Another idea, which almost nobody practices, is a requirement that union representatives go back to the shop floor every few years.

5. *Solidarity in Organizing a Union.* Everybody knows the usual way to organize a union. One of the big international unions sends in a staff rep who talks and passes out literature. A few people circulate authorization cards. If enough cards are collected, an NLRB election is held. But is this the best way? Is there a way to organize a union from below, through common actions, so that what ties people together is not just the promise of individual benefits some time in the future, but the experience of winning victories through their own concerted action?

*The labor union's primary objective must be to fight for the right to help determine who should own the plants, what products or services should be created, and how capital should be used.*

6. *Solidarity Between Active Workers and Retirees.* During the summer of 1987, about 22,000 active workers for LTV Steel voted on a contract that affected pension supplements and the cost of medical insurance for retirees. Forty to fifty thousand retirees whose benefits were affected could not vote, because they were not members of the union. There must be a better way. What is it?

The reader will think of many, many other ways of application that can test and refine the idea of solidarity unionism. What should solidarity mean between black and white, men and women, in a time when jobs are scarce? How should solidarity unionism seek political expression without restricting the rights of individual members? Should solidarity unions seek to organize nationally? Should workers interested in solidarity unionism affiliate with national unions, or, at least when an employer operates only one workplace or operates in only one community, form locally-controlled independent unions?

What can we do about the practice of union members working overtime when union brothers and sisters are on layoff?

Finally, what about violence and non-violence? Rank-and-file activists advocate mass direct action instead of the fearful, legalistic tactics often espoused by union leaders. (Example: In our community a local judge has limited a striking union to a handful of symbolic pickets at store entrances. Lawyers for the union have apparently advised against mass rallies, for fear the judge might require

pickets to be stationed farther away from the stores.) It is often assumed that such rank-and-file mass action will be violent. We should talk about this. Is violence the best approach to scabs, or even cops? Is it possible unyieldingly to oppose a person's current course of conduct with one hand, while extending the other hand with open palm to say, "Join us?"

### Conclusion

According to the *Little Red Songbook* of the Industrial Workers of the World, the last verse of "Solidarity Forever" goes:

*In our hands is placed a power  
greater than their hoarded gold;  
Greater than the might of armies,  
magnified a thousandfold.  
We can bring to birth a new world  
from the ashes of the old.  
For the Union makes us strong.*

We might ask ourselves, what does the last line of the song mean when it refers to "the Union"? This song was sung in the 1930s by striking rubber workers, auto workers, and steel workers, who must have assumed that "the Union" meant their own, new CIO union: the URW, or the UAW, or the USWA. But that is almost certainly not what Ralph Chaplin, the Wobbly author of the song, had in mind.

The Union in "Solidarity Forever" is not today's industrial union, with its collective bargaining agreements and full-time staff. The Wobblies did not believe in collective bargain-

ing agreements. They were highly skeptical of full-time staff. When they used the term "the Union" they meant the one big industrial union that included all working people of the world. This is clear from other Wobbly songs. Thus in "Are You a Wobbly?" the chorus says: *Are you a Wobbly? . . . the One Big Union beckons to you*; and the second verse asserts:

*You like the idea, but then you say,  
"How can we do it, when is the day?"  
When all the poor folks,  
the unemployed folks  
And everyone who works for a wage  
Gets in the Union,  
One Union Grand. . .*

"Amazing Boss," sung to the tune of "Amazing Grace," declares: *the time is now to organize, A Union of our class. . .*

Joe Hill, the most famous Wobbly of them all, used the term "the Union" to mean the one big union of all workers. In "Workers of the World Awaken," he wrote:

*Join the Union Fellow Workers  
Men and women side by side. . .  
Unite ye slaves of ev'ry nation  
In One Union Grand.*

And in "There is Power in the Union," to the tune of "There is Power in the Blood," Joe Hill wrote:

*There is pow'r, pow'r  
In a band of working folk,  
When they stand hand in hand;  
That's a pow'r, pow'r  
That must rule in ev'ry land:  
One Industrial Union Grand.*

The words *the Union makes us strong*, therefore, mean "our solidarity makes us strong." "Solidarity Forever" was, and is, and will be the theme song of solidarity unionism.

In this article I ask people in or related to the labor movement to reconsider many of the movement's practices in the light of the vision espoused in the last verse of "Solidarity Forever." I particularly ask readers not to get hung up with some particular position, so that the forest gets lost for the trees. If you believe that the dues check-off is essential, fine: move on, and develop your own specific suggestions as to how the spirit of solidarity can be more fully expressed. Try your ideas out, and let the rest of us know what happens.

*University professor, activist and labor attorney, Staughton Lynd is a longtime friend of the IWW. He is the author of several books, among them Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History and Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism. Two of his books, Labor Law for the Rank-and-Filer and The Fight Against Shutdowns: Youngstown's Steel Mill Closings, are currently available from the IWW.*

### Notes

1. "The Woman Behind Solidarity: The Story of Anna Walentynowicz," *MS*. (February, 1984).

2. Jack Spence, "Guatemala: 1985," *RESIST* #179 (October, 1985).

3. Tony Gilpin, Gary Isaac, Dan Letwin & Jack McKivigan, *On Strike For Respect* (Chicago: Charles Kerr Publishing Co.; 1988).

4. David Moberg, "At Weirton Steel, It's Buy It or Lose It," *In These Times* (December 15-21, 1982).

5. See Staughton Lynd, *The Fight Against Shutdowns: Youngstown's Steel Mill Closings* (San Pedro: Singlejack Books; 1982).





## "At the Point of Production"

# James Connolly: Industrial Unionist

A good many people have carried the red membership card of the IWW in the past eighty-three years, some doing so as an economic measure of need, others because the One Big Union idea galvanized their aspirations and principles, and demanded reality. Such an individual was James Connolly.

The fifth of June, 1988 marked the 120th anniversary of James Connolly's birth. The son of Irish immigrants, Connolly was born in Scotland in 1868. Raised in the Edinburgh slums, Connolly was forced to go to work at the age of ten to help support his family. At the age of fourteen, like so many youths from Britain's slums, Connolly took the king's shilling and joined the army. Not much is known of Connolly's army service, for ever afterward he was reticent upon the subject. What is well known is that during his regiment's stay in Castlebar and Dublin, Connolly saw Ireland for the first time, and that four months before his enlistment was to expire he discharged himself and made his way back to Scotland. He was never arrested for desertion and apparently no warrant was ever issued. It was 1888 and Connolly had been in the British military for almost seven years.

After his return to Scotland, Connolly met John Leslie, a Socialist poet who first introduced him to the Socialist movement. Connolly became active in the Scottish Socialist Federation and in 1892 became its Secretary. Largely self-educated, his skill as a writer and speaker made him well known throughout Great Britain and Ireland. In 1896, Connolly accepted the job of organizer with the Dublin Socialist Club and returned to live in Ireland for the first time.

Poverty lurked continually for Connolly and his wife, Lillie Reynolds, whom he had met as a young soldier in Ireland and married shortly afterward. Employers rarely needed much pretext to discharge a diligent Socialist organizer and Connolly's meager stipend, as such, seldom went far toward keeping his growing family.

At about this same time, Connolly helped establish the Irish Socialist Republican Party and drew up a political program headed by the words of Camille Desmoulins, the great French revolutionary who years before had been one of the leaders of the storming of the Bastille: "The great appear great to us only because we are on our knees: let us rise." The program of the ISRP proposed the nationalization of all public transportation, abolition of private banks, a 48 hour work-week, graduated income tax, free child care and public education, and universal suffrage. Needless to say, the platform was considered visionary for its time.

In the fall of 1902, Connolly spent four months touring and lecturing in the United States under the auspices of Daniel DeLeon's

Socialist Labor Party. Upon his arrival in Dublin in January, 1903, the first installments of Connolly's masterpiece, *Labor in Irish History*, began to appear in the Socialist press. James Connolly had made considerable progress in organizing socialist groups but the factionalism of politics and the lethargy of the various groups to combine and function as a whole had frustrated him and he was beginning to doubt the feasibility of political solutions to solve the glaring economic problems facing the Irish working class. So, partially in disgust, Connolly left Ireland and emigrated to America. It was less than a year since his triumphant arrival back in Dublin.

Connolly settled in Troy, New York in late 1903 and was joined by his family in August of the following year. He had joined the Socialist Party upon his arrival in New York and had come into demand as an inspired lecturer and speaker. He was also coming into conflict with Daniel DeLeon, the autocratic head of the SLP and editor of *The Weekly People*. It was said about DeLeon that men who walked on their own two feet had a great deal of trouble with him and in this James Connolly was surely qualified. Connolly was as stubborn as DeLeon was authoritarian and combined with the former's Catholicism and the latter's anticlericalism, the feud spilled over into print and occupied numerous issues of the party's newspaper.

*Elizabeth Gurley Flynn recalled first meeting James Connolly while speaking in a meeting in Newark in 1907, "He was short, rather stout, a plain looking man with a large black mustache, a very high forehead and dark, sad eyes, a man who rarely smiled." She also recalled sharing a platform with him later on at an Italian Socialist meeting. She inquired of Connolly as to who would speak in Italian and he smiled his rare smile and said, "We'll see. Someone, surely." To her amazement, Connolly later rose and spoke beautifully in Italian and the "delighted audience viva'd loudly."*

In the summer of 1905, Connolly and his family moved from Troy to Newark, New Jersey, and thus were domestically preoccupied during the tumultuous days of the founding of the IWW. Sometime during the early part of the following year, Connolly joined the IWW in Newark and together with Patrick Quinlan, a self-confident Tipperary Irishman who also was a hard worker and a good street orator, began organizing musicians, engineers and laborers into IWW locals. At last Connolly had a place and a task for which his transformation from Socialist politician to industrial union agitator had prepared him. He wrote at this time that industrial unionism was "simply the discovery that the workers are strongest at the point of production, that they have no force available except economic force and that by linking the daily fight of the workshop, mill, and factory the necessary economic force can be organized." In the same polemic, *The Future of Labor*—published in 1908 as a chapter in his pamphlet *Socialism Made Easy*—Connolly also wrote "Let us be clear as to the function of Industrial Unionism. That function is to build up an industrial republic inside the shell of the political state, in order that when the industrial republic is fully organized it may crack the shell of the political state and step into its place in the scheme of the universe." Though Connolly never lost faith in the feasibility of political action, he also wrote in 1908 that "I believe it to be incumbent upon organized Labour to meet the capitalist class upon every field where it can operate to our disadvantage. Therefore I favor direct attacks upon the control of government powers through the ballot box, but I wish to see these attacks

(continued on next page)



LONDON: Like unto any aspiring American politician Ma Thatcher has finally found the Lord and she set the chasubles of the bishops of Scotland quivering with holy rage when, as an invited guest speaker, the English curse preached to the Scottish bishops, at their assembly, that the word of the Lord was not to kick the money changers out of the Temple but to award the Wall Street seal of approval to the boys; for as Ma Thatcher expounded the word of the Lord, christian virtue is demonstrated by those streetwise types who have succeeded in conning the punters of their minor meal tickets. As an afterthought to the Lord Ma Thatcher did suggest that if the monied minority dropped an occasional widow's mite, charity tax-exempt, in the way of a starving widow then come the Day of Judgement it would look good on the heavenly charge sheet but the Scottish bishops raged and passed a motion that Ma Thatcher should never be invited back to a Scottish bishop's assembly to preach to them again.

The world has come to accept Ronald Reagan as a minor role actor who has moved up in the political soap opera charts, and the crazy world of Nancy and Ron as no more than a farcical mid-morning sit-com, for to demonstrate throughout London shouting "Reagan Must Go" or "Reagan Out! Out!" would hardly be deemed leftwing agi-prop political box office. But there is something so very vicious and evil in Ma Thatcher's thinking and abuse of high office that when she snarls of Victorian values one sees it as the breaking of the British labouring class, their organizations, their social services and their spirit.

When the British Parliament reassembles shortly, the Thatcher Tories will introduce legislation that will lift the ban on women being employed underground in the coal mining industry. One cannot dispute that in any facet of our lives there must be no discrimination for reasons of sex, religion, race, politics or social or sexual mores, yet one cannot believe that the ending of the 1954 Mines and Quarries Act—bringing women back into the depths of the earth—is being done as an act of social justice. Romanticize it as one will, one cannot conceive of any social or moral reason why, for economic reasons, anyone should be forced to labour out their short life in brutish underground darkness. That and the ending of the prohibition on sixteen to eighteen year old youngsters being made to work weekends and nights is due for the Tory political sewer so that the vision of women once more working in darkness beneath William Blake's Green and Pleasant Land and sixteen year old children once more back on night work is the Tory heaven that Ma Thatcher preached to the Scottish bishops, and in the name of Christ they rejected it.

On the industrial front only sad songs in the night, for from Britain's Motown comes the protest and threat, that no one accepts, that 10,000 white collar workers will down felt tip pens, for what the Motown bosses lost on the economic swings they intend to win back on the office round-a-bout, for in the last industrial agreement the blue collar workers retained their claim to the tea break that breaks up the dreary monotony of the conveyor belt system. The Motown bosses have decided to stop the 10,000 white collar workers from having that short tea break and the white collar workers are threatening strike action over it. No one believes it will take place and the office workers tea break will go in line with American, German and Japanese industrial management thinking. But comrades never join in the mockery of the British workers' tea break. A universal joke it may be, but for a few short minutes it deadens the boredom of the long hours in factory and office. Small humane moments in management's control of our lives from the cradle to the grave worth protecting.

By the White Cliffs of Dover the striking seamen—led by bearded Samuel Joseph McCluskie—still stand their ground, even though millions of dollars of their union funds have been seized by order of the Law Lords. How the seamen and women's strike will end is anyone's guess, and in the Freedom Press book shop a beer mug rests upon the books on the crowded table asking for donations for the seamen and women's strike fund.

We wait to see if the 120-year-old TUC, the godfather of the British trade union movement, will finally get around to expelling the rightwing electrician and engineering unions for making no-strike deals with employers and signing one-union deals with the same employers—pay deals below the national rate and what have you, all on the Japanese model. These craft unions see their image in the American trucker's style of union in an American world of rising wage packets, but all the British workers can see in these union deals is the Japanese industrial pattern of reduced wages, longer hours and the loss of the strike weapon. Deals by the rightwing union to include the coal-mining scab union, the Royal College of Nursing, the Professional Association of Teachers and the other high-moral, money-grabbing, no-strike dealing craft unions may look good membership-wise on the computer read-out for the union bosses as they wait for their supermarket wine to breathe, but they are valid only till the first workers say fuck off, no deal, no work, or, in other words, take your sweet heart union deals to the management shit-houses where they belong.

Arthur Moyse





## IWW REVIEWS

**TROUBLE AT THE MINES** by Doreen Rappaport (with illustrations by Joan Sandin); Thomas Y. Crowell Junior Books, 10 East 53rd Street, New York City, New York, 10022. For Ages 8-12; \$11.50 cloth.

This book describes a real coal strike in Arnot, Pennsylvania in 1899 from the perspective of Rosie Wilson, a fictional brown-haired little girl around the age of ten. The book covers the history of the strike from its beginning to the end, but what is so good about the book is the way it tells the story. Instead of dealing with it from the male strikers' perspective, the author describes the strike as Rosie saw it, especially at the side of her mother, who was a most active participant. The author does a very good job in describing how the women and children dealt with the effects of the strike in the context of trying to maintain an adequate home life. The author also shows how the women and children became active participants in the strike, and effectively guided a large part of it during the winter months of 1899-1900. Finally, the author does a fine job of presenting Mother Jones as the most feared woman in America—at least as far as the coal operators were concerned.

When reading the story to my six-year-old girl, she followed very closely the activities of Rosie and her interactions with her mother, father, her cousin Mary, and Mother Jones. She was upset when Mary's father broke with the strike and became a scab because Rosie's parents forbid Rosie to play or even talk with her best friend (the author brings out very clearly the negative effect a strike has on social relationships within a close community—in this case being a scab meant that the whole family including the children were socially ostracized). Then of course she was quite happy when the strike was won and during the celebration Mother Jones beseeched the miners to "be as generous in victory as we have been faithful and brave in battle. We must forgive those who lost courage and fell by the wayside,"—for this meant that Rosie could now play again with Mary.

Because women are so important in the book in helping to win the strike and because the author shows how badly the coal operators treated the miners and their families, the book should be high on the reading list of all Junior Wobblies (and even their parents would benefit from reading it.) It is also a book which you might suggest that your child take to school and share with classmates.

Fred Lee

## James Connolly

(continued from previous page)

supported by economic organization. In short, I believe that there is no function performed by a separate political party that the economic organization cannot perform much better and with greater safety."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn recalled first meeting James Connolly while speaking in a meeting in Newark in 1907, "He was short, rather stout, a plain looking man with a large black mustache, a very high forehead and dark, sad

*De Leon's mania for conspiracy and factionalism had finally proved too onerous a burden. A tireless organizer, Connolly had made overtures to the Waterside Workers of New York about a mass entry of 12,000 longshoremen into the IWW. These men had previously been members of the Knights of Labor and regarded the AFL as a blackleg aberration. They constituted about a quarter of the dockers on the New York and North Jersey waterfront. Getting wind of it, Daniel De Leon claimed that Connolly wanted to submerge the IWW with Irish and Italian Catholics, and demanded a special meeting of the General Executive Board to investigate it. At the meeting chaired by Ben Williams, De Leon's allegations were summarily dismissed. But because of De Leon's interference, the Waterside Workers of New York never became an Industrial Union of the IWW.*

eyes, a man who rarely smiled." She also recalled sharing a platform with him later on at an Italian Socialist meeting. She inquired of Connolly as to who would speak in Italian and he smiled his rare smile and said, "We'll see. Someone, surely." To her amazement, Connolly later rose and spoke beautifully in Italian and the "delighted audience viva'd loudly."

In late 1907 Connolly became secretary of Building and Construction Workers Industrial Union 330 in Newark and New York and organized many workers in the building trades and other occupations. He was also New York correspondent for the Industrial Union Bulletin

and in October of that year resigned from the SLP. De Leon's mania for conspiracy and factionalism had finally proved too onerous a burden. A tireless organizer, Connolly had made overtures to the Waterside Workers of New York about a mass entry of 12,000 longshoremen into the IWW. These men had previously been members of the Knights of Labor and regarded the AFL as a blackleg aberration. They constituted about a quarter of the dockers on the New York and North Jersey waterfront. Getting wind of it, Daniel De Leon claimed that Connolly wanted to submerge the IWW with Irish and Italian Catholics, and demanded a special meeting of the General Executive Board to investigate it. At the meeting, chaired by Ben Williams, De Leon's allegations were summarily dismissed. But because of De Leon's interference, the Waterside Workers of New York never became an Industrial Union of the IWW.

In 1908, Connolly helped found the IWW Propaganda League and toured the country lecturing on industrial unionism. The first issue of the *Harp*, journal of the Irish Socialist Federation, appeared with Connolly as editor. Two years later, Jim Larkin, rough-and-tumble organizer of the Irish Transport Workers Union, edited the first Dublin edition of the *Harp* and launched a subscription drive to bring Connolly back to Ireland to lecture. In July, 1910, Connolly left New York for Dublin, never to return to the United States. He had confided earlier to Mary Harris Jones that he was homesick for Ireland and heartily sick of America. The last American issues of the *Harp* showed a total absorption with conditions in Ireland and the Irish nationalist movement.

James Connolly would follow inexorably that road of Irish nationalism until his death six years later at the hands of a British firing squad. Of all the revolutionaries of that day, perhaps Connolly knew best the special limitations of a nationalist movement using physical force as an instrument of liberation. He had said in 1899, "Physical force is being made the test of nationalism by the nationalists, rather than the restructuring of the social system as the ultimate end." He also knew well the folly of armed rebellion by poorly equipped workers against a modern capitalist power. Connolly died after the Easter uprising of 1916, and generations of Irish patriots—capitalists and Marxists—have revered and paid homage to his memory. Both can claim equally in the special and peculiar manner of glory in James Connolly's demise. Connolly himself should have and probably knew better. But, incorrigible Irishman that he was, raised on the stirring nonsense of the "wearing of the green," he should have heard his own voice, echoing in the halls of memory: We have no force save economic force; we are strongest when organized at the point of production."

James Connolly instead was consumed like a weary moth in a patriot's flame.

Phil Harris



Mother Jones Arrives

"Mine owners always threaten to close the mines down when miners ask for what they deserve!" Aunt Sally yelled. . .

"What do you know?" Uncle Jack shouted. "You're a woman, not a miner."

Rosie's mother pointed her finger at Uncle Jack. "Scab!"

"Fool!" Uncle Jack yelled.

"Scab!"

"Fool!"

Everyone began shouting at each other. The yelling accelerated to a roar. Only Rosie's father was quiet. He scanned the crowd frantically. "Who are you looking for, Pa?" asked Rosie, pulling on his arm.

"She's come," he whispered suddenly, pointing to an old woman walking slowly across the field toward Uncle Jack.

The woman was short, with thick round glasses, a round face and a round body. Her white hair was covered by a wide-brimmed hat. She wore a long-sleeved black dress with a frilly collar.

By the time she reached Uncle Jack, the shouting had stopped. "What do you think, Mother Jones?" Rosie's father called out to her. "What should we do?"

Mother Jones clasped her hands and looked up as if in prayer. Then she looked out at the crowd, and her face broke into a slow

grin. "Well," she said, "the first thing I think we should do is straighten Jack out. He's forgotten how important women are. He wouldn't be here today if it hadn't been for his mother."

Rosie and May looked at each other and giggled.

Ahens and shrieks of laughter sounded all around them. . .

Mother Jones wasn't finished yet. "At five o'clock tomorrow morning," she yelled, "I want every woman to meet me at the bottom of the hill. You men stay home and take care of the children for a change. We'll take care of any man who cares to go back to work. I want every woman to come and bring a mop, a broom, or a dishpan. Our army will make sure that no one goes into the mines." She dropped her arms and began to sing.

*Bring the good old bugle, boys!*

*We'll sing another song;*

*Sing it with a spirit*

*That will start the world along. . .*

The crowd joined in, and the meeting ended in a burst of song.

Rosie's mother hugged her. "That's why mine owners call Mother Jones the most dangerous woman in America," she said.

from *Trouble at the Mines*

## A Rebuttal

## The NMU and the IWW

Several distortions in R.D.C.'s article "On The Waterfront" (*Industrial Worker*, April 1988) warrant discussion. I shall confine myself to pointing out a few of the more serious errors.

There was absolutely nothing in common between the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World and the power-grabbing, conniving Communist Party who did not at all belong to the left wing of the labor movement. As Fred Thompson puts it:

Lenin's doctrine of scrapping the left-wing unions to facilitate capture of the trade unions was not acceptable to the IWW, nor the communist demand that it appoint editors for the IWW publications. Their maneuvers inside the IWW eventually ended Wobbly tolerance for them. . . (Thompson; *The IWW: It's First 50 Years*; pp. 136).

The Communist Party organized the Marine Worker's League to wreck the IWW's Marine Worker's Industrial Union #510.

The NMU (National Maritime Union) was not—as R.D.C. writes—"an early militant outfit" but one of the most corrupt "unions" in America. Its leader and dictator Joseph Curran—who was appointed by the Communist Party, which controlled the NMU abso-

lutely—tried to force the members to register for jobs through the Employer's Hiring Hall instead of through the union as the IWW and the SUP (Sailor's Union of the Pacific) did. The NMU rank-and-file were so disgusted that the Muscovites had to pack NMU meetings with furriers (from the CP-controlled union) to keep control (see *Thompson*, page 165).

In exposing the corruption, M.A. Varick, for 21 years an NMU member, recalls, for example, that:

The leaders of the NMU-Curran machine park their limousines in the head-quarter's underground garage and take a private elevator to their luxuriously furnished and decorated offices. . . (*New Politics*, Summer 1967).

The corrupt officials extorted over half a million dollars from the pensioners, which they pocketed.

The Stalin of the West Coast Longshoremen, Harry Bridges, faithfully followed the CP line. It was never a rank-and-file outfit.

To keep his machine in power, Bridges created a job trust of favored "A" men who were given the best-paying, easiest jobs in reward for supporting Bridges and class "B" men, who in spite of the fact that they paid full union dues were not allowed to join the union! They were denied voice and vote and allowed to attend meetings only when sitting in a segregated section of the meeting hall. If and when they were finally promoted to full-class "A" membership, they first had to prove that they were faithful supporters of the Bridges machine (R.J. Pierpont; *New Politics*, Summer 1967).

By surrendering to the demands of the employers, the leaders of the NMU hoped to win the recognition of the NMU by the shipowners.

However well-meaning, it is of prime importance—especially when touching on IWW history—to make sure that statements are factually correct.

Sam Dolgoff

## Tehachapi Pass

You used to be able to see  
The mountains on the other side  
Of the valley  
But now you long  
For the clean desert air  
As you watch the smog  
Drifting up from Los Angeles.

I hear the flapping of wings;  
The California Condor is coming back,  
Even if he has to migrate  
From Machu Picchu!

Carlos Cortez Koyokuikatl



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**TEXAS.** Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087. 713-921-0877.

**VIRGINIA.** Richmond IWW Group, P.O. Box 4584, Richmond, VA, 23220-8584. 804-353-4023. \* Greg Buckingham, Rte. 1, Box 137A, Arvonja, 23004.

**WASHINGTON.** Bellingham General Membership Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. \* Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle 98144. \* Spokane IWW Group, PO Box 1273, Spokane 99210. \* Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma 98405. 206-272-8119.

**WISCONSIN.** Madison General Membership Branch, 1846 Jennifer, Madison 53704. 608-251-1937 or 249-4287.

#### AUSTRALIA

Delegate, 417 King Street (1st Floor), Newton, Sydney.

#### CANADA

Vancouver General Membership Branch, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5K5. \* Toronto General Membership Branch, 20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4. Phone c/o Blackbird Design (416) 591-7577. \* Robin Oye, Delegate, 16 Wellington St. South, Kitchener, Ontario N2G 2E5. \* J.B. McAndrew, Delegate, 7216 Mary Avenue (1204), Burnaby V5E 3K5.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Dan Czunuz, 13 Wolsey Street off Heslington Road, York, YO 5BQ, England.

# SOLIDARITY FOREVER! IWW BRANCH NEWS

## Baltimore

The "baby" Branch of the Baltimore area sends greetings of Solidarity to all Fellow Workers and invites visits and correspondence. Our first strategy has been to conduct educational and public events which have resulted in approximately 30 members, both in the metro area and around the region. A highlight of our activity was the first Wobbly-Hop which included the film "The Wobblies" and two popular local bands—the Almighty Senators and the Motor Morons. More than 300 participated, yielding \$1300 gross at the door. Several politicians came a-courtin' and veteran FWs from the great struggles showed up too.

The Branch has acquired a supply of literature and has constructed crate-racks for the *Industrial Worker*. Other planned events are a Union Picnic on August 6th, Hiroshima Day, and a traditional all-worker sit-down dinner on October 15-16 weekend, with speakers and extensive displays of worker art and historical materials of the union struggle. We are also organizing the GDC and have been contacted by prisoners of the Maryland House of Corrections. We have four working delegates, two in Virginia: Greg Buckingham and Ed Jahn, and two in Baltimore: Bili Savage and Rafi Bey. Rosana Marino is the Branch Secretary, Mark Bevis chairs the IW working group and Wibur Norman handles the literature and supplies. Responsibilities are considerably de-centralized with all active members sharing the Union work.

The "Radical Environmentalism" issue of *Industrial Worker* was especially appreciated and ordered in large quantity for distribution. The Branch considers its primary challenge to focus on a major issue and present it for a coordinated campaign at various appropriate levels—such as rights of part-time workers, a major area for organizing.

Fred Collins  
Rafi Bey

## Boston

Despite a temperature of 98 degrees there was an unexpected turnout for the *Rebel Voices* book party held June 15 at Jamaica Plain's Red & Black Bookstore. Joyce Kornbluh was able to be there and led a discussion on "Revolutionary Unionism and the Arts."

Soviet exile Fyodor Finkel of the Free Trade Union Association (SMOT) spoke on the situation of independent trade unions in the Soviet Union, focusing particularly on the plight of the many unionists imprisoned there.

Boston Wobs urge everyone to send letters requesting the abolition of the so-called "circulation of anti-Soviet slander" charge by means of which so many independent unionists in the Soviet Union have been jailed. Letters can be addressed to:

Procurator S.N.Osipyan  
USSR, ARMSSR  
g. Yerezan  
Trokuratura ARMSSR  
Trokurorv S.A. Osityanu  
USSR

## Denver-Boulder

Denny Mealy and Gary Cox participated in a canoe trip sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Canoe Club down the beautiful and gentle rapids of the upper South Platte River in an effort to convince local politicians that the river should not be damned for the profits of the few. Lieutenant Governor Mike Callihan and Steve Berson, Executive Director of the Colorado Department of Regulatory Agencies paddled by in two of the 12 canoes. We all know that bankers and real estate developers call the shots on such projects, but the trip was fun and two politicians may now feel pangs of guilt when the damn gets built.

On May 13 Mealy and Cox headed for Nevada for a week to meet with some workers interested in joining the IWW. A good deal of IWW literature and several Wobbly T-shirts found new homes in Nevada during a showing of the film "the Wobblies." Prospects look good for a very active local of good, solid people in that area soon. Lots of fresh "Boycott Hormel" and "Boycott Coors" stickers are now on display in Nevada also.

On May 21 Mike Konapacki put on a great forum for us on the history of labor art. In addition to 39 Huck-Konapacki original cartoons for display, he brought an excellent slide-show on labor art, much of it old Wobbly cartoons, and showed a marvelous cartoon video done by Fred Wright in the 50s which

dispels the myth that high wages create inflation. Thanks, Mike. We are very grateful. Illness prevented Gary Huck from making the trip.

In early June we held a special meeting on organizing, armed with the prosecutive new manual just completed by Jon Bekken. Later in June Joel Lewis goes to trial *again*, this time for trying to block trains entering Rocky Flats, a plant outside of Denver that builds the plutonium triggers for nuclear weapons. Joel was roughed up by police during his arrest. He's out in New York this week causing trouble. More on his trial next month.

Last week Denver area nurses won a 7 1/2 percent pay raise from the state of Colorado. The state said it would pay a 2 percent wage increase and not a penny more, whereupon half of the nurses turned in their resignations and threatened to take jobs in private hospitals. This would have paralyzed state-operated hospitals, because there is a serious shortage of nurses, and would have lost the state millions in federal research money. After much huffing and puffing and holding of breath, state legislators bowed to the nurses' demands at zero hour. The moral of this story is that if an employer cannot get replacement workers, either because there aren't any or, better yet, because replacement workers refuse to cross a picket line, working people have *power!*

Fan the flames, Brothers and Sisters.

## ORGANIZE!

## New York

New York Wobs turned out for the June 11th disarmament protest at the United Nations Plaza (joined by FWs Steve Ritchie of Idaho Falls and Joel Lewis of Denver-Boulder), and later assembled at Cornell University to honor Rochelle Semel (see article this issue).

New member Larry Otway has been getting the word around NYU, where the students are fighting tuition increases which are earmarked for advanced research (rather than for improved undergraduate educations); Larry believes he can utilize the good old IWW fighting spirit to foster resistance to tuitions increases. He has already written a song and produced the draft for a handout to be used in September when college will be back in session.

Meanwhile, Nora Rotter has been attempting to organize the clerical workers where she works, making use of the NYGMB's "Workers' Guide to Direct Action" pamphlets, as well as the latest issues of *Industrial Worker*. With luck, we'll have a new job shop and student movement in two universities before long.

Dave Zatz

**Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World**

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADING UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADING UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEND ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADING UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

IF THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS MAKES AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

# BOOKS FOR REBEL WORKERS

## IWW PUBLICATIONS

- ☐ One Big Union (*about the IWW*) . . . . . 1.25
- ☐ The General Strike *by Ralph Chaplin* . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ IWW Songs: The Little Red Songbook . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ Collective Bargaining Manual . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ Workers' Guide to Direct Action . . . . . 35
- ☐ Unions and Racism . . . . . 1.00
- ☐ Metal Workers' Health & Safety . . . . . 50
- ☐ A Quiz on You and the Arms Race . . . . . 10
- ☐ The IWW: Its First Seventy Years *by Fred Thompson* cloth 15.00; paper . . 4.95
- ☐ History of the IWW in Canada . . . . . 50
- ☐ The Rebel Girl (*sheet music*) . . . . . 1.00
- ☐ We Have Fed You All for 1000 Years (*LP record/IWW Songs-no discount*) . . . . 8.50
- ☐ IWW Preamble and Constitution . . . . . 1.00

## IWW POSTERS by Carlos Cortez

- ☐ Lucy Parsons ☐ Joe Hill ☐ General Strike
- ☐ Fat Cat ☐ Huelga General ☐ Ben Fletcher
- ☐ Draftees of the World, Unite \$10.00 postpaid

## BOOKS FROM OTHER PUBLISHERS

- ☐ Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology *by Joyce Kornbluh* . . . . . 18.95
- ☐ The Yale Strike of 1984-84 . . . . . 5.95
- ☐ Roll the Union On: Pictorial History of Southern Tenant Farmers' Union *by H.L. Mitchell* . . . . . 7.95
- ☐ Byel American - Labor Cartoons *by Gary Huck & Mike Konopacki* . . . . . 7.95
- ☐ Memoirs of a Wobbly *by Henry McGuckin* . . . 5.95
- ☐ Haymarket Scrapbook . . . . . 14.95
- ☐ Haymarket Postcards (set of 28) . . . . . 12.00
- ☐ Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Crime and Criminals *by C. Darrow* . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ You Have No Country! Workers' Struggle Against War *by Mary E. Marcy* . . . . . 4.50
- ☐ Dreams and Dynamite (*poems by Covington Hall*) . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Mr. Block: 24 IWW Cartoons *by Ernest Riebe* . . . . . 4.95
- ☐ Life & Deeds of Uncle Sam *by Oscar Ameringer* . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Rise and Repression of Radical Labor . . . 3.95
- ☐ The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America *by Upton Sinclair* . . . . . 7.95
- ☐ Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary . . . 6.95
- ☐ The Right to Be Lazy *by Paul Lafargue* . . . 2.75
- ☐ The Head-Fixing Industry *by J. Keracher* . . 3.00
- ☐ The Soul of Man Under Socialism *by Oscar Wilde* . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ The Life of Thomas Skidmore . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Labor Law for the Rank-and-File . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ Didactic Verse *by Henry Pfaff* (IWW humor) . . . . . 2.00

Please add 10% extra for postage.

## DISCOUNTS ON BULK ORDERS

40% discount on prepaid bulk orders of five or more copies of any item on this list, unless otherwise indicated. 30% discount on similar orders that require invoicing. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery.

## AVAILABLE FROM IWW LOCALS

- ☐ Out of the Depths (best book on the Ludlow Massacre), \$10 postpaid from Gary Cox, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown CO. 80534. Checks payable to Colorado Labor Forum. (All proceeds to P-9.)
- ☐ A Workers' Guide to Direct Action. .50 from N.Y. IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028
- ☐ Introduction to the IWW. .10 each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- ☐ Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication) \$10/yr. from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V5N 3K5
- ☐ Amnesty for British Miners (enamel & gold buttons) \$10 each from Chicago IWW Branch, 3435 N. Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL. 60657. (All proceeds to British miners.)
- ☐ Wobbly T-Shirts, \$10 postpaid from Denver-Boulder IWW Branch, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown, CO, 80534.

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3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202  
Chicago, Illinois, 60657



## Oral History Project

# The IWW in the Pacific Northwest 1916-1919

by George Hodin

My first contact with the movement came in 1914. I came to Seattle in May 1914 and was able to get a little instruction in learning the language. When the schools closed I started to go to Skid Road in the evenings, to listen to everybody preach on the street corners. It used to be like it was in Hyde Park, London. Every organization looking for members would be there. Every corner was occupied; the Salvation Army band would blare, Socialists, the Wobblies, etc.. I used to listen to everyone, trying to get the meaning of the words.

Going back a little, I shipped from Russia to my uncle in Seattle, as I was getting into a lot of trouble at home. I was orphaned when I was 13 and went to live with my aunt. They were orthodox, but my father was a free-thinker. The contrast was too much and resulted in my getting into a lot of grief. I spent my 16th birthday in jail and was shipped to the U.S. to get settled. I changed my ticket in Hamburg for a slower boat and stayed in Bremen a couple extra weeks. That threw my arrival date out of line.

When I arrived in Seattle, there was no one to meet me. When I walked out of the depot, I decided to turn to the right and see if I could find my way. I walked right into the Red Light district. As I was walking along I heard a Russian cussing, so I walked in. It was a poolroom where Russian workers usually met. They all gathered around me and took me to their hall, which was in an old church. It was an abandoned church. They rented it for 5 years. It was used as an address, and also, if anybody was broke, they could sleep there. There was a great big stove and I spent many a night there, bullshitting around.

My first serious contact with the Union was in 1916. It was November 5, 1916 and the Seattle local decided to demonstrate in Everett. So they all boarded a state ferry to go to Everett, which was a lumber town. Since most of the Russian workers carried the Red Card, a lot of them were on the ferry. The Lumbermen's Association had the governor call out the National guard and they refused to let the ferry

land. A few of the guys on the deck fired at the boat. When the ferry returned to Seattle they put all the Wobblies in jail and accused them of inciting a riot. I represented the Russians, as an interpreter. This great injustice aroused my feelings and I became a member and got my Red Card. The boys got 60 days and I got 30 days for interrupting the prosecutor, etc..

By the time I got out, "Red" Thompson had come to Seattle. After spending a few days with him, we went down to San Francisco to hear Emma Goldman talk at the Hippodrome. By then the Red Card was like a pass on any freight train.

I was a powerful fellow then, short-tempered and fast with my fists. Direct action was my belief. I picked a couple Russians to travel with and started to organize the lumber industry. Red told me to concentrate on northern Oregon and southern Washington. At that time the huge corporations were not there yet, and the lumber industry consisted of small and medium size outfits. The average logging camp had 50 to 60 men. The biggest I tackled was the Puget Sound Lumber in Port Angeles,

Washington. There I had to tackle an outfit of about 300 men. I started on smaller units, to create a reputation. We were at war and the government needed spruce for airplanes. The best spruce was in Oregon and Washington.

That was before the mechanization of the industry. Production was all hand labor. When I started, the working day was 10 hours, 6 days a week. They used to call us blanket stiffs, for you had to pack your blanket. All they provided was wooden bunks. I usually tried to show the management where they would benefit by an 8 hour day, and better accommodations for the men; if we could not get our way we would sabotage production in many ways, such as putting sand in oil so that bearings would burn up and machinery would freeze. Occasionally we would torch a pile of lumber. Hell, there were so many ways you could stop production, which the small (business) guy could not afford. It was a primitive way but it created panic and we got results.

There were many fellows like me and 'by 1917 we got an industry-wide 44 hour work-week, beds and a cook to keep the camps clean.

Also showers and laundry facilities. As we got the things we asked for, the struggle died down. We eliminated a few evil practices in hiring labor. I missed the Chehalis blood bath, as I was fighting that day at a smoker. We raised hell afterward though. We disrupted the lumber production by sabotaging big outfits. I participated in the only General Strike ever pulled in the U.S.. Then I got married and had to settle down.

Incidentally, the British Transport Workers pulled a General Strike in 1928 and made the same mistake as we did. It cannot be effective unless there is a time set. Then the demonstration of labor solidarity has a punch, otherwise you strike against yourself.

The swift technological progress, the shifts of all basic industries to foreign lands where the exploitation of labor reinforces their already low living standards, the change from basic to highly technical jobs, creates unemployment. The high percentage of dropouts plus the flood of workers that pour through our porous borders creates a huge field for organizers. I wish I could be young again...



## DOs

- ✓ The IWW does fight for a world without bosses, where we are responsible to no one but each other.
- ✓ The IWW does believe that, despite our political differences, we are all bound together by our common heritage as wage slaves. We believe that by organizing in a non-authoritarian manner, the positive energies of all members can focus on our common economic struggle, leaving our political differences to be resolved in a political arena.

✓ The IWW does combat all divisions between sisters and brothers of our class. We believe that antagonisms caused by differences in race, gender, culture, spiritual or sexual orientation only serve to weaken our combined strength in the face of our masters.

✓ The IWW does believe that there are two fundamental economic classes. One class are workers; including unemployed, students training to work, those retired from work, and those, such as homemakers, who are simply not paid for their work. The other class are shirkers; those gaining money and power from the sweat of others due to their ownership of the "means of production", or their role in "managing" us workers (who could plan better than we who actually do the work?); in short, those able to hire and fire according to *their* needs and not the needs of the workers and our families.

✓ The IWW does believe that to live any happy life, a person not only needs bread, but roses, too. In other words, economic oppression restricts access to education, health care, art, literature and all activities that raise our joys and aspirations beyond mere survival.

✓ The IWW does offer a working, time-tested structure that embodies "the new society within the shell of the old". For those convinced that society must be restructured in a de-centralized, anti-authoritarian manner beginning with our own communities in Toronto, the IWW provides a neutral ground on which we can gather for mutual aid, education and outreach to others.

## DON'Ts

✗ The IWW doesn't cross other union's picketlines. What other labour organization in Canada could make this claim?

✗ The IWW doesn't make sweetheart contracts or other crooked deals with bosses or crime-syndicate hoodlums.

✗ The IWW doesn't use its money to promote environmental devastation, political parties, racism, nuclear proliferation, military dictatorship, religious superstition or the Boy Scouts.

## What makes the IWW different from other unions?

### DOs AND DON'Ts OF IWW ORGANIZING

Vancouver General Membership Branch  
PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5K5

Toronto General Membership Branch  
20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4

✗ The IWW doesn't lick the boots (or line the pockets) of politicians, arbitrators or other parasites.

✗ The IWW doesn't extort outlandish initiation fees or sky-high dues from its members, and doesn't pay its officers exorbitant salaries (Initiation is five dollars; monthly dues are five dollars, or two dollars if you're unemployed. Our General Secretary-Treasurer makes six dollars an hour.)

✗ The IWW doesn't use a "check-off" system for dues collection, wherein your boss acts as banker for your union by skimming a portion off your paycheque, without you ever seeing the money (the IWW delegate you elect must personally approach you for dues payment, giving you a built-in way of communicating your needs to your union).

✗ The IWW doesn't hold its conventions in plush resorts, far from its membership.

✗ The IWW doesn't have a cumbersome bureaucracy to persecute and expel dissidents or otherwise impede its members' democratic participation in union affairs. The General Secretary-Treasurer and seven-person General Executive board are elected for terms of only one year. Union policy and other organizational matters are decided by referendum vote of the entire membership. This union is strictly rank-and-file.